

BIBLIOTHECA FICTIVA

THE SHERIDAN LIBRARIES



3 1151 03950 1535



SCOTICUM

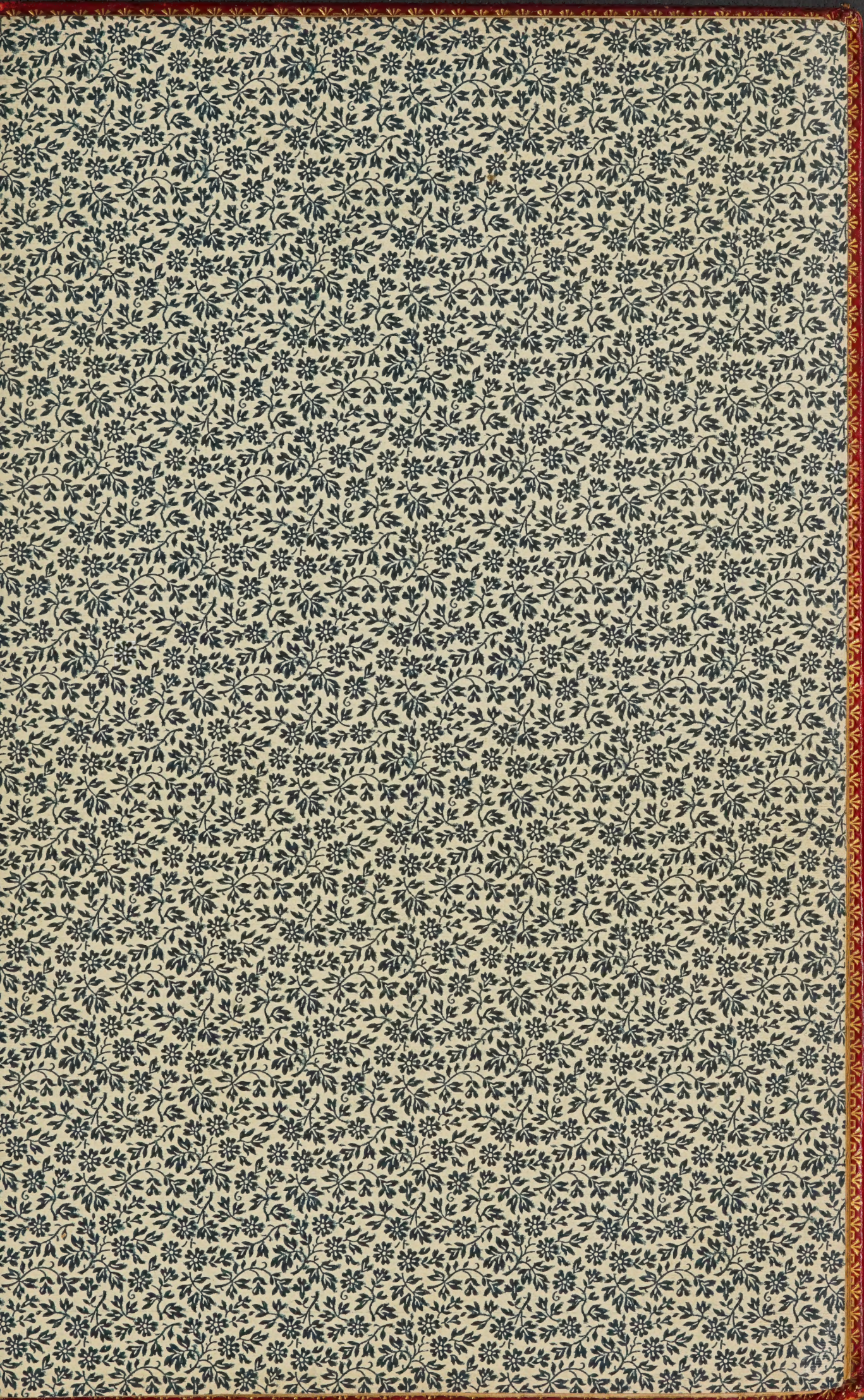
VESTIARIUM SCOTICUM



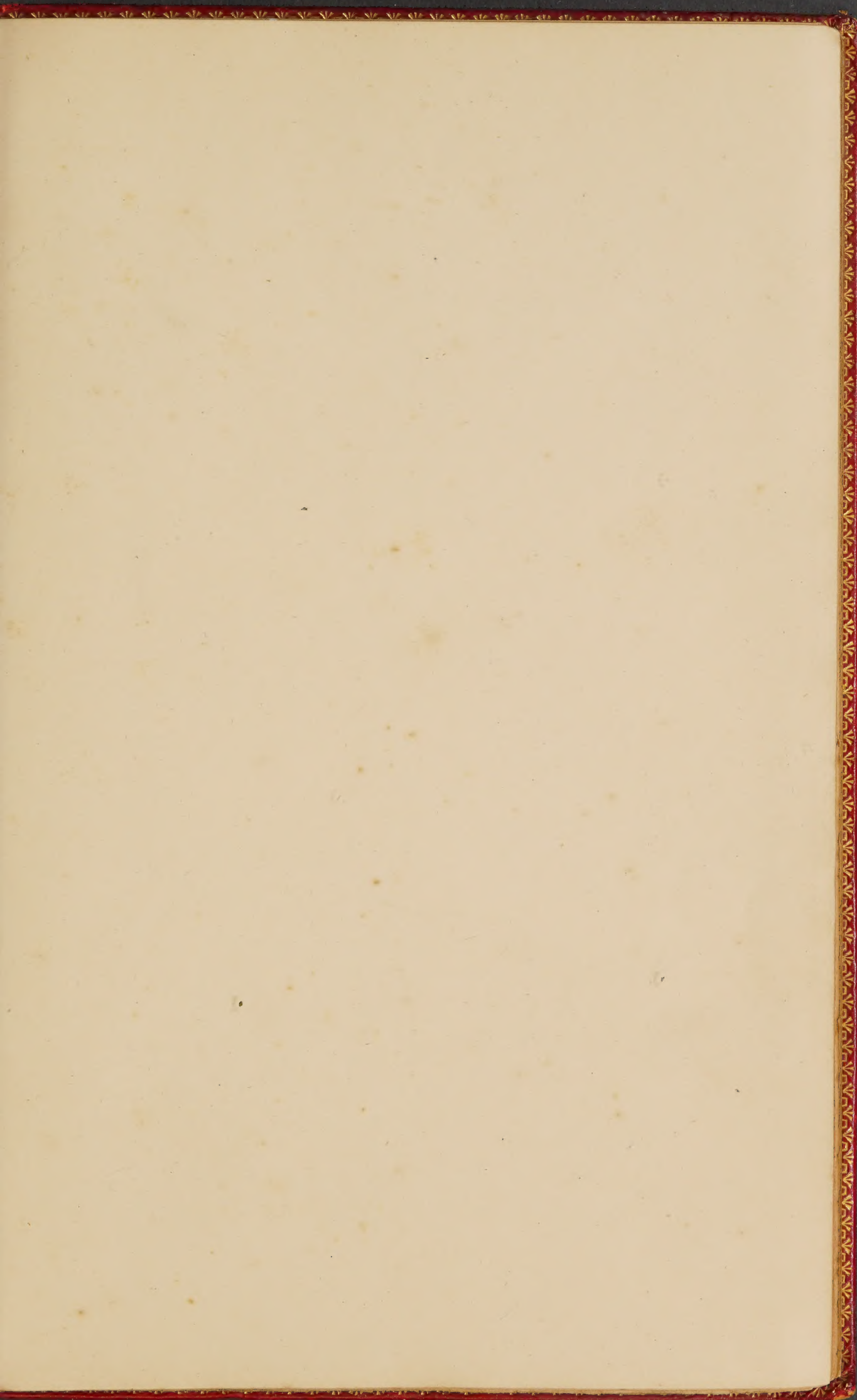


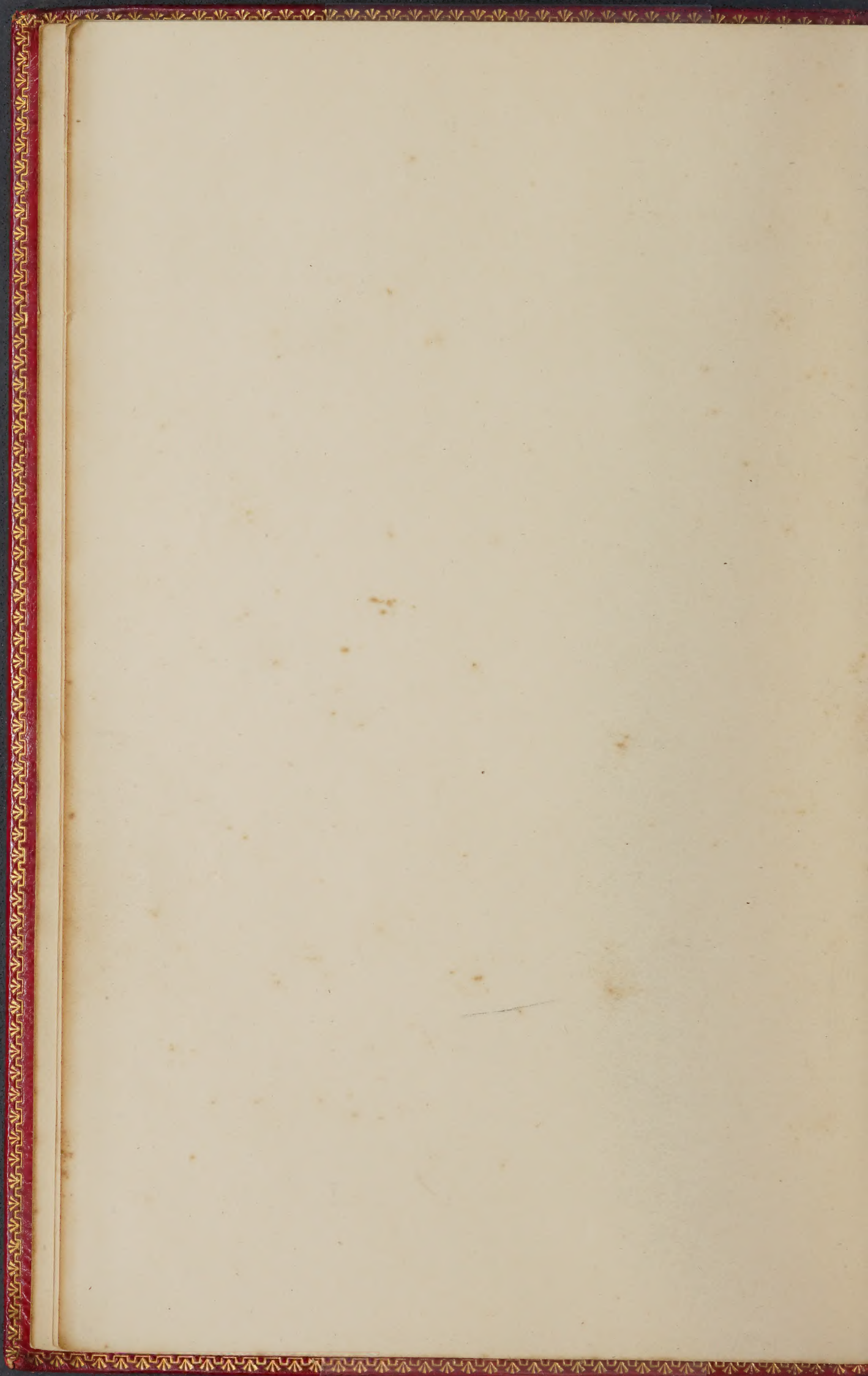






Companion
Vol
to
Vestrum
Scotium







THE BROTHERS
JOHN SOBIESKI STUART
AND
CHARLES EDWARD STUART

THE GENUINENESS
OF THE
VESTIARIUM SCOTICUM.

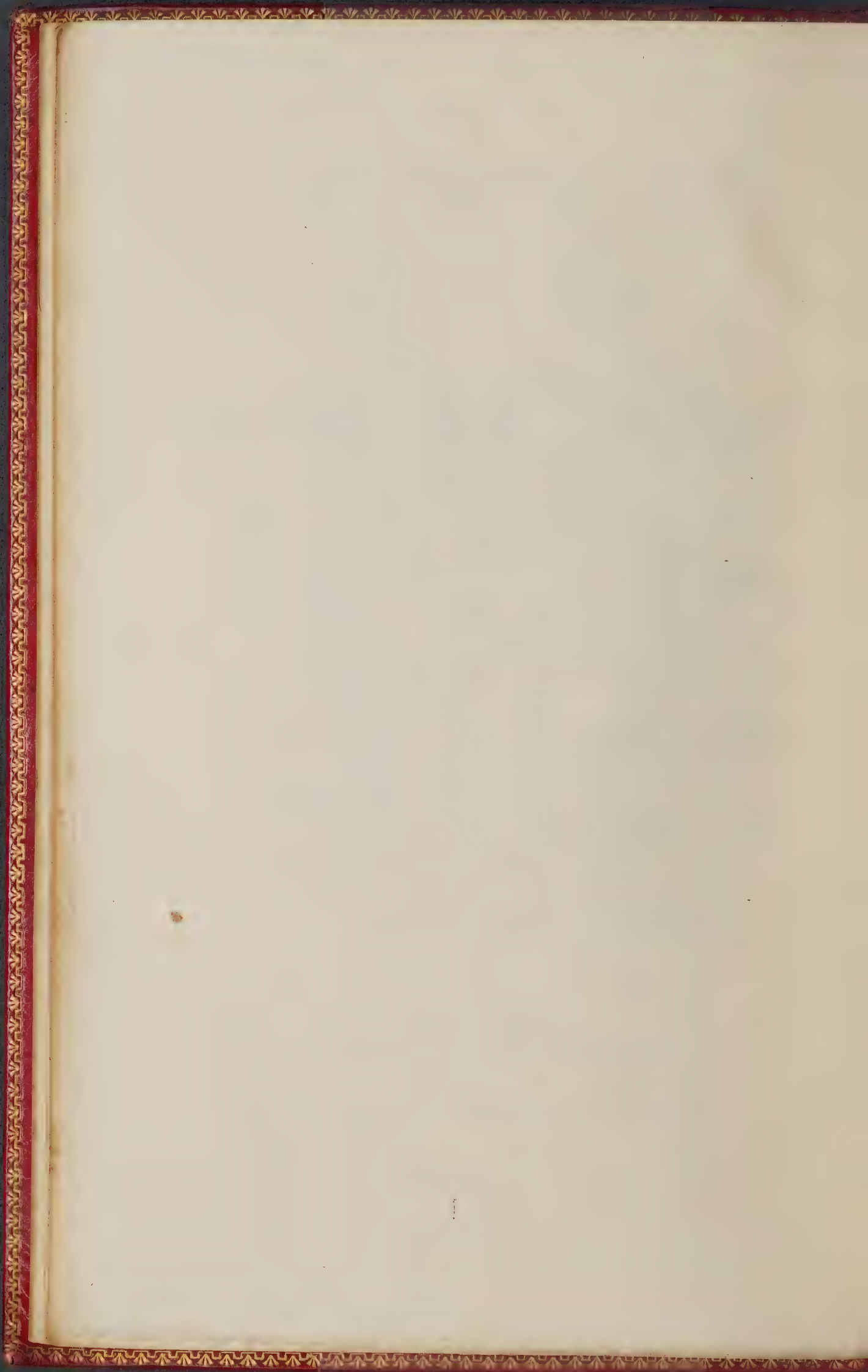
I.

THE CHARGES MADE BY THE *QUARTERLY REVIEW*,
Reprinted from Volume 81, 1847.

II.

A REPLY TO THE *QUARTERLY REVIEW* UPON THE
VESTIARIUM SCOTICUM, *Reprint of a very scarce Pamphlet,*
published by WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS, Edinburgh, and
CHARLES DOLMAN, London, in 1848.

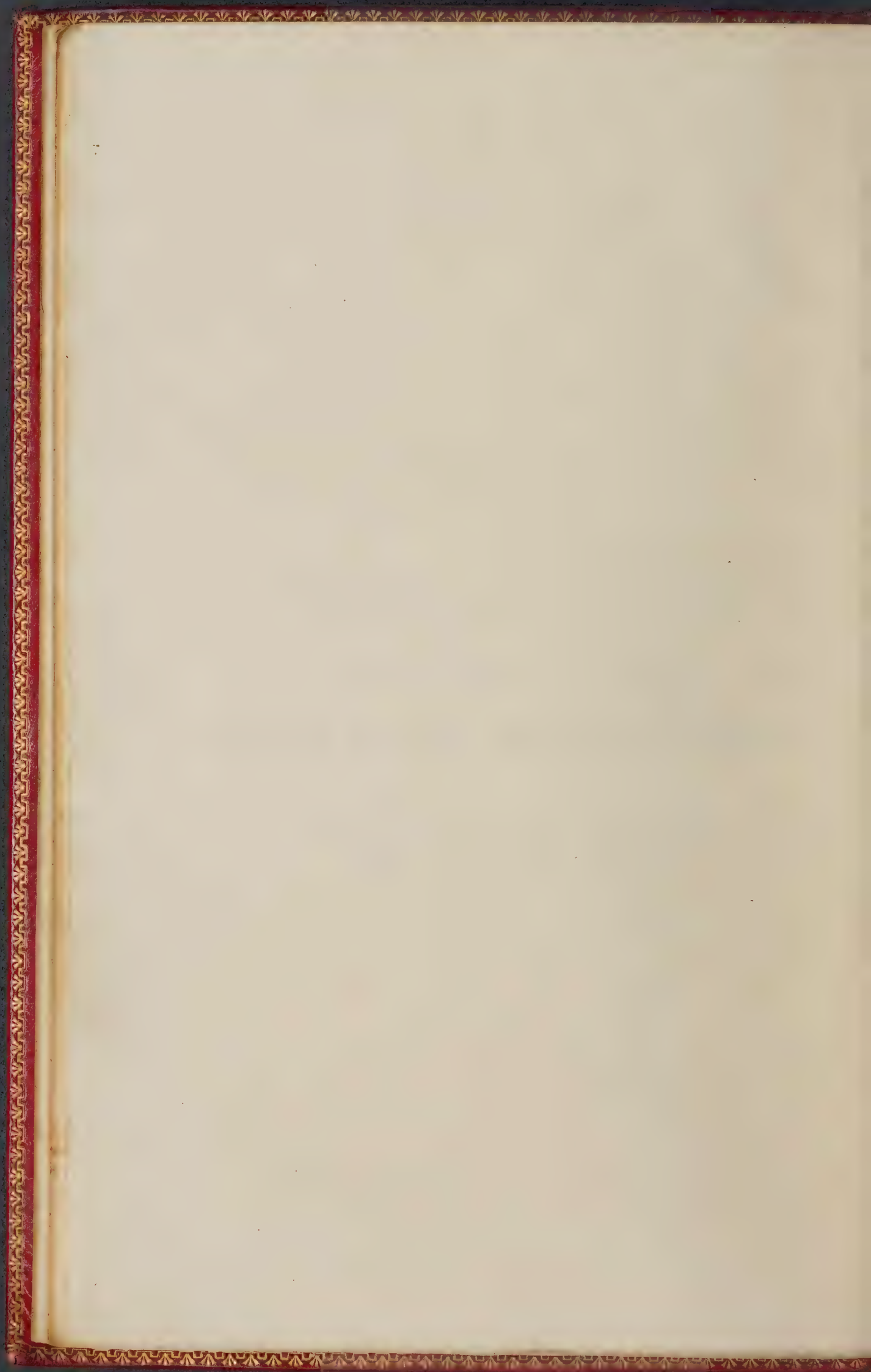
PRIVATELY PRINTED.



THE CHARGES
OF
THE "QUARTERLY REVIEW"
AGAINST THE GENUINENESS OF THE
VESTIARIUM SCOTICUM.

REPRINTED FROM VOLUME 81, 1847,

By Special Permission of the Publisher.



1. *Vestiarium Scoticum: from the Manuscript formerly in the Library of the Scots College at Douay; with an Introduction and Notes.* By John Sobieski Stuart. Folio. Edinburgh, 1842.
2. *Tales of the Century; or, Sketches of the Romance of History between the Years 1746 and 1846.* By John Sobieski and Charles Edward Stuart. Post 8vo. Edinburgh, 1847.
3. *The Decline of the Last Stuarts. Extracts from the Despatches of British Envoys to the Secretary of State.* [Edited for the Roxburghe Club by Lord Mahon.] 4to. London, 1843.

How many centuries elapsed before the eyes of the Welsh could be opened to the fact that Arthur was actually dead, and not awaiting, in the enchanted bower of Morgana, the time when he should come forth again to lead the Cymry to victory and drive the English out of Britain! How long did the Scots continue to hope that James IV. had only concealed himself in despair after the fatal field of Flodden, and would yet resume his throne! Scarcely had Richard II. disappeared in Pontefract Castle ere the Scottish government declared that he was alive at Stirling—and a historian of eminence, our own contemporary, maintains the truth of the assertion! The extinction of the male blood of Plantagenet was immediately followed by the imposture of Perkin Warbeck; and it is proved by one, at least, of the works before us that the unhappy

dynasty of Stuart has not been allowed to vanish from our political horizon without a somewhat similar attempt being hazarded in its case.

Long after all idea of any opposition to the Hanoverian government had been abandoned on both sides—even after the death of Charles Edward had virtually extinguished the Jacobites as a party—the proscription which had followed their last struggle left behind it a feeling of insecurity, which hung over the descendants of those who had worn the white cockade, and made them unwilling even to talk of the events which had involved their relations in so much misery. But neither the utter overthrow of Culloden, nor the death of the last Stuart they had seen among them, could efface from the minds of the Gael their native proverb, *Theid duthchas an aghaidh nan crag*—"Hereditary Right will surmount the Rocks." The Jacobite spirit still continued to smoulder deep in the hearts of a large proportion of the Scottish people;—when the publication of *Waverley*, in 1814, suddenly proclaimed, that although the time elapsed was short, yet the condition of things was entirely changed—and that the events on which they had been content to brood in the fondness of secrecy had lapsed so entirely into the domain of history that there no longer existed any cause for concealment. The same stroke of genius was felt at once in England, and very speedily abroad—awakening the whole civilised world to a full sense of the romantic character of the parting effort for the House of Stuart.

The natural reaction immediately took place, and Highland scenery, Highland character, Highland history acquired an interest which they had never before attracted. While tourists hurried to admire the wild but lovely landscapes within the Grampian chain, the bravery which had induced a few thousand mountaineers to follow Charles Edward into the heart of England, and the true-hearted devotion which had sheltered him in their lonely glens, although a price of £30,000 had been

set upon his head, and more than a hundred poor men were often at once aware of his hiding-place, met with their richly-earned meed of praise.

One effect, however, of this new enthusiasm concerning the Highlanders was that the demand on the part of the public for information as to the origin and descent, as well as the peculiar constitution of the clans, very greatly exceeded the supply which was then at their command, and impressions the most crude and unfounded became extensively prevalent. Almost every peculiarity about them was controverted with a violence which threatened to involve the whole question in hopeless confusion. While one class of authors were extolling the Gael as the unmixed descendants of the most ancient population of the west of Europe, preserving their primitive patriarchal government uncorrupted ; and another still stigmatised them, in the style of sour old Pinkerton, as a motley rabble of Normans, Danes, and Saxons, who had adopted the language of their half-savage vassals ; it was the anxious wish of sober bystanders that the history and customs of this singular people might be investigated by one who, combining an earnest delight in antiquities with a calm judgment, should collect all that could actually be recovered on the subject, and arrange it in a business-like form for the general use. Several works having fair pretensions to this character have been published within the last few years ; but none such had appeared when George IV. came to the throne, and the announcement of his intention to visit Scotland suddenly concentrated upon the single article of the Highland dress most of the Celtic *engouement* which had for some time pervaded the country. The prospect of receiving the King in his "ancient kingdom" excited in all ranks the desire that it should, on this occasion, wear as much as possible its ancient appearance. The hereditary officers of the Scottish Court at once claimed their rightful positions in attendance on the royal person, and prepared their retinues accordingly. The

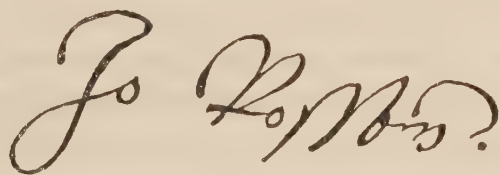
old bodyguard of Archers was reorganised, several Highland chiefs collected their followings, and the population at large hastened to assume as national an aspect as might be attainable. Anxious inquiries were now made on every side by those who, either by the form of their names or by tradition, had any claim to a Celtic origin, after the clan they belonged to, and the garb they might be entitled to wear; and those who had any pretensions, however slight, to know more on such points than their neighbours, were listened to as oracles, and greatly enjoyed their new authority.

Of those who came forward at this time to instruct their less learned countrymen in the mysteries of plaids and badges, none assumed a more conspicuous position than the two gentlemen to whom we are indebted for the "Vestiarium Scoticum," and the "Tales of the Century." They wore the dress with a pomp and splendour of ornament, and in some respects with a peculiarity of form, which astonished Glengary and Garth themselves. They knew the appropriate tartan of every name and sept in the country, some of the patterns produced by them being quite novel and singularly gorgeous. And while it was asserted that their lore was derived from sources unknown to less favoured antiquaries, it was whispered that their own connexion with the Highlands involved some dark story of the most romantic interest. A small collection of Poems published by one of them in the summer of 1822, just before the King's visit, contained some odd hints connected with both these subjects of speculation; but during several subsequent lustres nothing occurred to dissipate the charm of obscurity. At length, after twenty years of expectation the volumes before us have lifted the veil; for while the "Vestiarium Scoticum" is professedly the source of their intimate and peculiar acquaintance with the "making and devisynge of tertanis"—"darke settis and lychter settis"—"dowble sprayngis and littel stryppis," &c., &c.—the "Tales of

the Century" furnish a key to the mysterious rumour of a most illustrious pedigree.

Of the "Vestiarium Scoticum" its editor, Mr. John Sobieski Stuart, gives us the following account :—

"The tract now published in the following volume is printed from a *MS. in my possession*, collated with the *transcript of another in the library of the Monastery of St. Augustine in Cadiz*. It is a small black-letter quarto of the sixteenth century, containing thirty-four pages of vellum, illuminated with small plain capitals, such as the ordinary initials of inferior missals. It was once in the possession of the historian and faithful adherent of Queen Mary, John Lesly, bishop of Ross, as appears by his signature in the first leaf—



Immediately below is noted, in his small neat hand, 'Primo Maii, 1571, I tuck my feaver and ageu at ix huris at nyt.' It would have little flattered the author of the 'Vestiarium Scoticum' to know that the blank leaves of his work served as a common-place book to another writer; but the above line was evidently a note for recollection towards some permanent entry; and upon referring to the autograph diary of the bishop, the notice of his illness will be found under the same date, in that volume.

"Some of the many calamities which scattered the adherents of the House of Stuart, and brought together many of their persons and their remains in the Catholic seclusions of the continent, conveyed the 'Vestiarium Scoticum,' and many papers of the bishop of Ross, into the library of the Scots College at Douay. During the long incognito of the Prince Charles Edward, between the years 1749 and 1754, he visited that seminary for purposes which expired in the obscurity wherein they were planned; and during his stay he received from the fathers many papers which had belonged to Queen Mary, her adherents, and King James the Seventh. Among others of a very different nature was found the bishop of Ross's copy of the 'Vestiarium Scoticum.' This copy, now in my possession, being the oldest and the most perfect, has served as the original to the present publication.

"The next in value, that which *belonged* to the library of the Convent of St. Augustine, is a small paper folio, bound in panel, written in the ordinary running hand of the time of James the Sixth. By the signature and date it had at one time belonged to 'ane honerabil man, Maister James Dunbarre, w^t in y^e burg of Innernesse, in y^e yeir of God ain thousand sax hunder and aucht yeirs.' By a subsequent name upon the cover, 'Johan O'Neil, cleric,' it had probably passed into the hands of one of the many expatriated Irish priests, who were driven to the continent during the reigns of Elizabeth and James the Sixth, and in this revolution probably found its way into the Monastery of St. Augustine. Spain was at that time the principal sanctuary for the Irish and Island refugees; and it is not improbable that the possessor of the volume might have been one of the followers of the unfortunate James Macdonald of Isla and the Glens, who, on his expulsion from Ulster and the Isles, fled to the Court of Philip the Third. Between this copy and that of the bishop of Ross there are but very few variations, and almost all, apparently accidental omissions of the copyist; wherever they occur they have been noted on the margin of this edition.

"Besides these copies there is *also in my possession* a third, of a much lower character and later period, obtained from an old Ross-shire Highlander, named John Ross, one of the last of the sword-players, *who may yet be remembered by those who recollect the porters of Edinburgh twenty years ago.* It is an inferior modern copy, bearing the stigmata of various barbarous hands, which have inflicted upon its pages divers attempts to transmit to posterity the names of a certain John and Marye Inglis, who have borne testimony to their familiarity with its leaves in the year 1721."—*Preface*, pp. iii—v.

It is plain from this account that the only one of these three copies, which Mr. John Sobieski Stuart represents as of any actual authority, is that which he describes as enriched with Bishop Lesly's autograph—for he possesses only a transcript of that which belonged to the Monastery of St. Augustine at Cadiz—and the third, derived from a late street-porter and sword-player of Edinburgh, he considers as a modern and inaccurate copy from an unknown original. As, therefore, the value of the Cadiz transcript, and that of the

old chairman's MS., depend entirely on the value of their respective originals, which have not as yet been placed before the public, it is to the "Vestiarium" from the Douay MS., as set forth in the printed folio of 1842, that our attention must, on the present occasion, be confined.

Now, when a work like this is produced, bearing to be printed from a MS. 300 years old, but of which neither we nor any one else, so far as we know, had ever heard until it was brought forward by the contemporary editor, we open it with profound interest, certainly, but with the question constantly before our eyes—Is it genuine? Is this treatise of the antiquity to which it pretends? On examining the "Vestiarium Scoticum, otherwise clippit The Garderope of Scotlonde," with this view, we find it to be written in the Lowland dialect, and to contain, first, a short disquisition on the nature of tartans generally, and the manner of preserving the setts or patterns. Then follow descriptions of the tartans of twenty-three clans, which are classed as "Ye chieff Hielande clannes." Then those of eleven, which are called "Ye lesser famylies or housis the quhilk be cum fræ ye chieff houses and oryginale clannes." Then follow the tartans of "Ye low countrie pairtes and bordour clanns," thirty-nine in number. Then a paragraph "Of wemenis quhite pladis;" and another "of hosen and treusen;" then a list of the badges of families; and lastly, a metrical address to the readers, by the author, "Schyr Richard Urquharde, knyght." Such is the "Vestiarium Scoticum," so far as regards its plan and contents; but to any one at all familiar with the state of feeling between the Highlanders and their Lowland neighbours, during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries—and who remembers how constantly the former are stigmatised by the writers of those times as barbarians, if not as absolute savages—a treatise on clan-tartans and the Highland dress, alleged to have been written by a Lowland knight, in the middle of the sixteenth century, and preserved by a courtly and diplomatic Bishop,

wears a somewhat dubious aspect.* Nor, as respects Lesly, Bishop of Ross, in particular, do the admittedly authentic writings of that prelate afford any passage calculated to remove his lordship out of the category of suspicion. We are told, indeed, in Mr. John Sobieski Stuart's preface, that there is an entry, commemorating the receipt of the Vestiarium, in a Diary of the Bishop, "remaining among a *portion of the Douay papers, in the possession of the late Mr. Robert Watson*, well known in the history of the Stuart papers." It is known that the aged adventurer, Robert Watson, hanged himself in a London tavern in 1838; but Mr. John Sobieski Stuart does not say distinctly that he has himself seen the diary here mentioned as in Watson's possession—nor does he tell us where we may see it—and we have therefore no means of ascertaining whether it really exists and contains any entry of the sort thus indicated, or indeed whether any such diary ever existed at all. The Bishop's great work, *De origine, moribus, et gestis Scotorum*, is dated in 1578, seven years

* A very curious letter in defence of the Highlanders, addressed by one John Elder to King Henry the Eighth of England, in the year 1542 or 1543, and printed for the Bannatyne Club by Mr. David Laing, refers to the very time when the "Vestiarium" is said to have been written. Elder informs the king that "Howbeit the babilonical busscheps and the great courtours of Scotland repute the forsaide Yrishe [that is, as the rest of the letter shows, Highland] Lordes as wilde, rude, and barbarous people, brought up, as they say, without lerninge and nourtour, yeit they passe theame a greate deale in faithe, honestie, in policy and witt, in good ordour and civilitie; ffor wher the saide Yrishe Lordes promises faithe they keepe it truely, be holdinge up of ther formest fyngar, and so will they not, with ther seals and subscripcions, the holy Evangel twichide. Therfor and pleas your highnes, like as the saide busscheps and ther adherentis repute us rude and barbarous people, even so do we esteme theame all, as they be, that is to say, ffals, flatteringe, fraudelent, subtile, and covetous."—Such being the state of matters in 1543, almost at the very time when the Vestiarium is said to have been written, we shall be excused if we demand decisive evidence before we receive as genuine a MS. on the clan tartans, written by one of the "great courtours," whose unfavourable estimate of his countrymen was so richly repaid by honest John Elder, and preserved by one of the "Babilonical busscheps," whom he considered as not less hostile.

only after the date of his alleged possession of the "*Vestiarium*." It contains a description of the Highland dress, which has been often quoted; yet not only is there in that description no allusion to the elaborate treatise of Sir Richard Urquhart possessed by him, nor to the existence of clan patterns at all; but he even uses an expression which we find it puzzling to reconcile with his alleged possession of the *Vestiarium*. His words are, "*Chlamydes enim gestabant unius formæ et nobiles et plebei, nisi quod nobiles variegatis sibi magis placebant;*" and as there can be little doubt that these variegated mantles were tartan, it would seem that he considered its use as a peculiar fancy of the chiefs, which he could hardly have done had he possessed so distinct an exposition of an universal system as that now before us in the splendid pages edited by Mr. John Sobieski Stuart.

In the absence of direct evidence we have no resource but to search the printed text itself for internal indications of genuineness or the reverse; and in the course of this examination the doubts which the circumstances of the times and the existing writings of the bishop have suggested, are far indeed from being removed. At the very first glance the singularly quaint but pyebald language and orthography of the text cannot fail to catch the eye. The style of the 16th century, however, is well known to every one at all conversant with Scottish documents, and upon that of the *Vestiarium* we fortunately possess the verdict of, perhaps, as competent a judge as the literary world has seen since the days of Bishop Lesly himself. We cannot find that the actual MS. "which belonged to the Douay College," and "contains the signature of the Bishop of Ross," has ever been exhibited to any learned society in the north, nor even to any individual scholar or antiquary unconnected with the present publication; but about twenty years ago, a *description* of the MS., with a *transcript* of part, at least, if not the whole of it, was sent to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, with a request that they would

patronise its publication; and by their secretary the specimen was placed in the hands of Sir Walter Scott, who kindly undertook to examine it, and give the Society the benefit of his opinion as to its authenticity. The secretary, accompanied by our informant, a reverend friend deeply versed in Highland lore, waited upon him shortly afterwards to ascertain the result of the scrutiny. Sir Walter assured them that the style and dialect of the specimen shown him were utterly false, a most feeble and clumsy imitation of the genuine writing of the period, and indignantly declared his conviction that the MS. itself must be an absolute fabrication. The extent of Sir Walter's acquaintance with such affairs, and his right to make such a declaration, *ex cathedrâ*, as to the mere language of the performance, very few of our readers will be inclined to question;—but we believe that on a closer inspection the subject matter of it also will be found to exhibit unequivocal indications of an origin much more recent than the sixteenth, or indeed than any other century than the present one.

For example—among the lesser clans, whose tartans are given, we find “Maknabbis cum of ye clandonald.” Now not only is this a mistake, the Macnabs being a branch of the Macgregors and entirely unconnected with the Macdonalds, but it is a mistake which did not arise till a full century after the alleged date of the Vestiarium. In the Gaelic MS. of the year 1450, in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, printed by the Iona Club, the Macgregor descent of the Macnabs is stated, and it was familiarly known among the clans themselves as late as 1606, in which year Finlay Macnab, of Bovaine, executed a bond of manrent to Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathardil, an acknowledged cadet of Macgregor, on the express ground that they were “come of one house, and of one surname and lineage.” But in the later History of the Macdonalds, written in the time of Charles II., and printed by the Iona Club, and again in Buchanan's Scottish Surnames,

published in 1723, we find the descent of the Macnabs from the Macdonalds asserted—and it is this later story, not the earlier and genuine one, that is adopted in the treatise said to have been possessed by Bishop Lesly in A.D. 1571.

In the same roll of clans we have the “Clanhiunla, or Farquharsonnes.” This term, “Clanhiunla,” is an attempt to express the sound of the Gaelic name of the Farquharsons, Clan *Fhionnlaidh*, or descendants of Finlay. But they derive this appellation, as is well known, from Finlay More, a great chief of their race who fought in person at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and whose son and successor survived the year 1571. It is manifestly impossible that the name Clan Finlay can have been in use during the lifetime of Finlay, or until his descendants had multiplied to a considerable extent; yet the Vestiarium is vouched to have been written at latest in Finlay’s time, and to have been in the hands of Bishop Lesly in the time of his son.

Again—we have in the Vestiarium, “Clangun quhilk cumeth of ye clan odovine.” Clan Odovine, as is acknowledged in a previous part of the treatise, is the same as Clan Campbell, yet in the middle of the sixteenth century, the very date assigned to the Vestiarium, Sir Donald Monro, Dean of the Isles, gives the tradition of his time that the Clan Gun are descended of one of three Danish brothers, the other two of whom were the ancestors of the MacLeods and the Rosses, and of course entirely unconnected with the Campbells.

Again—in the chapter “Of hosen and treusen,” there is mention of “ye Lairde of Clunie hys countrie, and ither northe pairtes.” This can hardly allude to any laird but Macpherson of Cluny, yet the chiefs of the Macphersons were not Lairds of Cluny till after the year 1638, prior to which time they held Cluny on a wadset from Lord Huntley, and when designed from their lands were styled Macpherson of Grange.

And again—in the roll of lesser clans, in the Vestiarium

as now before us (p. 87), we find "Makyntosche quha is cum of ye clan Chattane." To understand fully the bearing of this entry on the authenticity of the Vestiarium, it is necessary that we should explain that the families of Shaw and Farquharson have been at all times recognised as cadets of Mackintosh, and that, for at least two hundred years previous to 1837, Mackintosh had been universally believed to be descended from the Macduffs, the ancient Earls of Fife. In that year, 1837, was published "The Highlanders of Scotland, by William F. Skene," being the Essay which had carried off the prize offered by the Highland Society of London for the best History of the Highlands. The appearance of this work may fairly be considered as forming an æra in Highland history. Instead of following the track of his predecessors, and attempting to supply the acknowledged deficiency of Scottish historical monuments, either by hasty conjectures or arbitrary inferences, or from confused and fluctuating traditions, Mr. Skene resorted at once to the records of the two nations who alone maintained an intercourse, comparatively intimate, with the north of Scotland; and from the authentic annals of the Irish monasteries, and the Sagas of the Northmen, he extracted a mass of information not less important than unexpected. Whilst it is from these authorities chiefly that Mr. Skene has drawn the historical portion of his work—detailing the fortunes of the Highlanders in a clear and lucid narrative from the earliest times to the termination of their existence as a peculiar people—his investigation of the descent of the individual clans is characterised by extensive research in family records, both public and private, and judicious selection of materials. In this work, for the first time, doubts were cast upon the alleged Macduff descent of the Mackintoshes, and strong reasons urged for considering them as a branch of the Clan Chattan.

Now it happens that some time prior to the publication of Mr. Skene's book, a *transcript* of the "Douay MS." had

been obtained by a gentleman in the north of Scotland, and shown by him to many of his friends, some of whom took notes of its contents. In this *transcript* Mackintosh was stated, in conformity with the then current belief, to be "cum of ye clann Makduff," whilst in the printed text of 1842, Mackintosh is stated, in conformity with Mr. Skene's work of 1837, to be "cum of ye clann Chattane." This fact alone is sufficient to show that a part of the MS. has been altered within the last ten years; but all possibility of doubt is removed by the circumstance that next after the Mackintoshes stand the Farquharsons, of whom it is said (p. 88) that they are "lyk as Makyntosche cum of ye clann Macduffe alswa," thus rendering it manifest beyond contradiction that the very copy from which the text is now printed, originally bore the Macduff descent of Mackintosh, but has been recently altered to suit Mr. Skene's discoveries, without adverting to the inconsistency thus produced with the statement in the Section devoted to the Farquharsons. Finally, in the list of badges which closes the Vestiarium, where the names of the clans are closer, and catch the eye together (p. 105), Clan Chattan descent is given not only to the Mackintoshes, but to the Farquharsons and Shaws also—"all thir names be cum of ye Clan Chattan!"—another flat contradiction of what is said concerning the Farquharsons, where they are separately treated of, in the body of the work.

We have to apologise for having entered into these genealogical details, but as the Vestiarium treats principally of the Highland clans, it was impossible to avoid them in stating the reasons which induce us to acquiesce most entirely in the decision of Sir Walter Scott, and to declare our conviction that this pretended MS. of the sixteenth century is an absolute fabrication, and of no authority whatever.

If we are asked to indicate the parent of this fabrication, we answer at once, we have neither the means nor the inclination to do so. It is far from our present intention to

cast any such imputation on the editor himself, and as he has not told us from whom he got either the Bishop of Ross's MS., or the transcript from the Monastery of St. Augustine, we have no means of pursuing the investigation farther. Nor does it appear to us a matter of any consequence. We are satisfied with the verdict returned in the recent trial of the claimant of a Scottish Earldom for the fabrication of a document in support of his claim, in which the jury found it *proven that the document in question was forged, but no sufficient evidence by whom said forgery had been committed.* It matters little to the public who was the perpetrator of the present forgery. It may have been "*the late Mr. Robert Walker,*" who is so ready with an entry from "*the Bishop's Diary*" in its support,—a "*Diary*" which, like Mr. Sobieski Stuart's MS. itself, formed "*part of the Douay papers.*" It may have been the defunct porter of Auld Reekie, John Ross, from whom one of the copies is said to have been procured. And apropos of this latter possibility, we would recommend Mr. Sobieski Stuart to look again at his original MS., and consider whether what he has taken for the signature of the well-known bishop, John of Ross, be not in fact a quaint attempt of his friend the sword-player to write his own name in old hand, after practising upon the fever and ague notice which accompanies it.

We understand, however, that Sir Walter Scott was led by one marking feature in the "*Vestiarium Scoticum, vtherwyse the Garderope of Scotlonde,*" to suspect that information as to its origin might be obtained in a less romantic site than the cabin of a Cowgate porter—even behind the counter of one of the great clan-tartan warehouses which used to illuminate the principal thoroughfares of Edinburgh. The whole composition betrays a desire to multiply, to the utmost, new and splendid patterns, which appeared to him to smack strongly of such a locality. This visible anxiety has even led the author to the singular and original expedient of assigning tartans to the

great houses and tribes of the border, as well as to those of the Highlands. To any one who recollects what minute details we have in the printed letters of Englishmen of the middle ages as to the manners of the Scottish borderers, with whom they were constantly warring or negotiating—to any one who considers what a mass of ballad poetry has come down to us from the times when the clans of the mosstroopers were as distinct as those of the Gael; how frequent, both in the correspondence and the ballads, are the allusions to the slogans and other distinctive peculiarities of the great families of the frontier, and how complete is the absence of any reference to patterns of tartan, this idea must appear an unparalleled absurdity, and of itself a sufficient indication of forgery. We can picture the contempt that clouded the brow of the editor of the Sadler Papers and the Border Minstrelsy when, on opening the *transcript* of the “Douay MS.” at the request of the Antiquarian Society, his eye lit on the tartans of Douglas, and Scott, and Kerr, and Cranstoun, which must have been to him as new and as strange as the *sets* of the Percies, the Cliffords, and the Lowthers. We have heard that his last words to the deputation were—“Well, I think the *march* of the next rising must be not *Hey tuttie tattie*, but *The Devil among the Tailors!*”

Adopting *in toto* Sir Walter’s decision as to the recent, and in part his suspicion as to the undignified origin of the complicated system of clan-tartans, clumsily described in the text, and gorgeously exemplified in the plates of the Vestiarium (price ten guineas!), we must not withhold our approbation of the industry shown in Mr. Sobieski Stuart’s preface to his regal folio. He has accumulated in that *hors d’œuvre* many curious notices about the old Highland Garb which had escaped former compilers and commentators; and, indeed, between Mr. Skene’s book and his preface, we believe the materials for its history may now be considered as exhausted. But, notwithstanding all the zeal and labour bestowed on the preface, it fails to produce the slightest shadow of *evidence* in

favour of the fundamental principle even, to say nothing of the details, of the system of *patterns and sets* in the primeval formulary from Douay.

With the real history of clan-tartans, however, we have no immediate business—and there is metal more attractive in another of the publications before us. The modern Highlander, to render him a worthy representative of the hero of Prestonpans, must have more than the Gaelic, which he never lost, and the nicely diversified plaids wherewith “the Douay MS.” would reinvest him. It is as impossible to picture a true Highlander without the “Bonnie Prince Charlie” of his devoted loyalty, as to imagine a knight-errant without the peerless Dulcinea of his affections; and it will no doubt rejoice many of our sympathising readers to learn that even this hitherto hopeless defect is no more to be rashly pronounced irremediable.

The “Tales of the Century” are three in number, and in form unconnected; but the most cursory glance will suffice to show that they constitute in fact a consecutive series, and regard the birth, the youth, and the marriage of the same individual, who generally appears under the Gaelic denomination of the “Iolair Dhearg,” or *Red Eagle*.

The first of the tales is entitled “The Picture;” and at its very opening we find a young gentleman, styled MacDonell of Glendulochan, paying his first visit, A.D. 1831, in a quiet street of Westminster, to a certain venerable relic of the '45, by name Doctor Beaton. After much talk and some pressing, this aged physician reveals to his youthful visitor a secret of great pith and moment:—

“‘I promised—I swore,’ said he at length, ‘not to reveal it, unless in the service of my King. The secret is going down—it must not die with me. It is for his service that it should live. I will reveal it to you—that the last of the Gael may have one left to keep that mysterious hope. THEY HAVE YET A KING.’”—*Tales, &c.*, p. 19.

After describing the Convent of St. Rosalie on the road from Parma to Florence, the Doctor thus proceeds.—

"As I passed through Italy in 1773, I remained for some days in its vicinity, with a lingering fascination which prevented me from leaving the neighbourhood where the King and Queen had spent some weeks in profound retirement, on account of her Majesty's infirm health. I often walked for hours in the deep quiet shades of St. Rosalie, ruminating upon my distant country, our past events, and those coming fortunes yet unknown. One evening, it was near sunset, as I walked in the avenue plunged in profound thought, I was roused by the sudden and rapid sound of wheels, and immediately a calash and four, with scarlet liveries, turned into the alley, and came whirling along the broad drive at full speed. As it approached, I observed that it contained a gentleman and lady; and in the momentary glance, as it went past, I recognised the Prince! I knew him at once; for though changed with years and care he was still himself, and though no longer 'The Bonnie Prince Charlie' of our faithful beau-ideal, still the same eagle-featured, royal bird, which I had seen on his own mountains, when he spread his wings towards the south. In that brief moment, a world of visionary came by; the star on his breast, the keen glance of his eye, the beautiful golden hair, the 'blind-fair face,' and lofty forehead—and once more I felt the thrilling talismanic influence of his appearance, the sight so dear, so deeply-rooted in the hearts of the Highlanders, *Tearlach Rìgh nan Gael*." [Anglicè Charles, King of the Gael.]

The same afternoon the Doctor was walking in the church of St. Rosalie:—

"I was roused from my reverie by a heavy step, and the gingle of spurs upon the pavement; and looking towards the porch, saw a tall man of superior appearance advancing up the cloister. His dress, however, was a little equivocal, and not altogether in accordance with his demeanour; and as the faint light glanced beneath his broad hat upon his stern pale cheek, piercing eye, and thick moustache, a sudden idea of the celebrated Torrifino crossed my imagination. He stopped before me, and with a slight salutation hastily demanded, 'E ella il Signor Dottor Betoni Scozzese?' I looked at him for a moment before I answered that I was; but as soon as he had heard my reply, he requested me to give my assistance to 'one in need of immediate attendance.' I was astonished at this demand, as I had no idea that my profession was known, except at the Palazzo. I made some hesitation and inquiry concerning the nature of the required service. 'The relief of the malady, and not the circumstances of the patient, is the province of a physician,' replied

the stranger; 'and for the present occasion, you will best learn by an inspection of the individual.' I mused for a moment; but at last, 'Show me the way,' said I. 'My carriage waits in the avenue,' replied the stranger; 'but I must beg your excuse for what may seem an unpardonable restraint. There is occasion for such inviolable secrecy as to the circumstances of your visit, that it will be necessary for the blinds of the vetturin to be closed, and that your eyes should be covered when you are introduced into the house of your patient.' 'No,' I replied hastily, 'certainly not; I must request you to resort to any other than a Scottish gentleman, if you would procure an accessary to actions which require such concealment.' 'Signor,' exclaimed the stranger, 'I respect your doubts; by one word I could dispel them; but it is a secret which would be embarrassing to the possessor. It concerns the interest and safety of one—the most illustrious and unfortunate of the Scottish Jacobites.' 'What! whom?' I exclaimed. 'I can say no more,' replied the stranger; 'but if you would venture any service for one who was once the dearest to your country and your cause, follow me.' 'Let us go,' said I; and hurried towards the door."—p. 21.

The Doctor is blindfolded and conveyed, partly by land and partly by water, to a house which he entered through a garden.

"We proceeded through a long range of apartments, when suddenly my guide stopped; and removing my mask, I looked round upon a splendid saloon hung with crimson-velvet, and blazing with mirrors which reached from the ceiling to the floor: at the farther extremity a pair of folding-doors stood open, and showed the dim perspective of a long conservatory. My conductor rang a silver bell which stood on the table, and a little page, richly dressed in scarlet, ran into the room and spoke eagerly in German to my conductor. The dark countenance of the cavalier glowed suddenly, and giving some hasty command to the page, 'Signor Dottore,' said he as he quitted the saloon, 'the most important part of your occasion is past. The lady whom you have been unhappily called to attend, met with an alarming accident in her carriage, not half an hour before I found you in the church, and the unlucky absence of her physician leaves her entirely under your charge. Her accouchement is over, apparently without any result more than exhaustion; but of that you will be the judge.'

"At the mention of the carriage and the accident, the calash

which had passed me at such speed in the avenue of St. Rosalie, flashed upon my mind; but, before I could make any remark the page entered the room, and speaking briefly to the cavalier, 'Signor,' said the latter, 'they await you;' and, preceded by the page, he conducted me through a splendid suite of apartments, till we came to a small ante-room, decorated with several portraits, among which my transient glance instantly recognised one of the Duke of Perth, and another of King James VIII. The page crossed the rooms on his tiptoes, and gently opening the door at the opposite extremity, as I passed, it closed softly behind me, and I found myself alone in a magnificent bedchamber. The still solitary light of a single taper shed a dim glimmer through the apartment, and upon the curtains of a tall crimson bed, which stood beyond. But I had scarce glanced around me, when the rustle of drapery called my attention to the couch, and a lady stepped from the shadow, and saluting me in English, conducted me towards the bed. The curtains were almost closed, and by the side stood a female attendant holding an infant enveloped in a mantle; and as she retired, the lady drew aside the curtains, and by the faint light which fell within the bed I imperfectly distinguished the pale features of a delicate face, which lay wan and languid, almost enveloped in the down pillow. The shadow of the curtains gave but a faint trace of the countenance; but a single beam of the taper glanced upon the dark-blue counterpane, and shone across a slender arm and hand which lay upon the velvet, still, and pale, and passive as an alabaster model. The lady spoke a few words in German, at which the patient slowly raised her large eyes, and endeavoured to lift her hand towards me. It was cold as marble; and as I held my fingers on the pulse, they could scarce feel the low intermitting throb. For many minutes I vainly endeavoured to count the vibrations, while the lady in waiting stood motionless beside me, her eyes fixed intently on my face. 'If you will give me leave,' said I, endeavouring to suppress any indication of the danger to which I was sensible, 'I will write a prescription, for which no time should be lost.'

"The lady conducted me in silence to a writing cabinet, on which she placed the taper, and retired to the couch. In momentary reflection I glanced accidentally on the toilet which stood beside me. The light of the taper shone full upon a number of jewels, which lay loosely intermixed among the scent-bottles, as if put off in haste and confusion; but what was my surprise to recognise an exquisite miniature of my noble, my unfortunate, my exiled Prince, Charles Edward! For some moments I sat with my pen motionless in my

hand, and my eyes fixed upon the painting. It was suspended from a rich diamond necklace, and represented the prince in the very dress, the look, with which I had seen him ride into the field of Culloden. Overcome with the recollection, I gazed upon it till the features swam away in an indistinct glimmer of tears. An approaching step roused me to recollection, and hastily passing my hand over my eyes, I began to write as the lady approached the toilet, and, as if looking for some object among the ornaments, placed herself between me and the table. It was but an instant, and she retired; but when I glanced again to the jewels—the face of the miniature was turned.”—p. 29.

The Doctor is rather unceremoniously dismissed from the house, in the same mysterious manner as he had been brought to it, but not until he had sworn on the crucifix “never to speak of what he had seen, heard, or thought, that night, *unless it should be in the service of his king—King Charles*” (p. 41). He is further required to leave Tuscany the same night, to which he agrees, and proceeds accordingly to a seaport, in the neighbourhood of which, on the third evening after his arrival, another scene of deep interest takes place. Walking at sunset, the Doctor’s attention is attracted by the sight of an English frigate lying-to at a short distance. He is informed that the vessel is the *Albina*, Commodore O’Haleran. The Doctor lingers on the beach till the moon has risen, and when at last about to retire, he is arrested by the approach of a horseman, followed by a small close carriage.

“The horseman and the carriage passed scarce a pike’s length from the place where I lay; but what was my astonishment when, as the moonlight fell through the trees on the group, I thought I recognised the figure of my mysterious guide from St. Rosalie!

“I lay breathless with amazement, and as the cavalier turned the rock, the broad moon shone bright on his face, and showed distinctly the pale stern features so deeply imprinted on my memory. The little party stopped full in the moonlight near the margin of the water, and the cavalier having glanced hastily round, blew a loud shrill whistle. The echo had scarce died away along the cliff, when the long black shadow of a man-of-war’s galley shot from behind the reef of rocks on the western entrance to the creek. She pulled

straight for the spot where the vetturin stood, and in a few moments I saw her stern brought round to the sand, and all her oars fly up into the moonlight. The cavalier had already alighted, and opening the door of the carriage, lifted down a lady closely muffled in a white mantle. As she descended I observed that she bore in her arms some object which she held with great solicitude, and, at the same time, an officer leaped from the boat, and hastened towards the travellers. By the glimmer of the moonlight upon his shoulders, I saw that he wore double epaulettes, and making a brief but profound salute towards the lady, he conducted her towards the galley.

"As they approached, the lady unfolded her mantle and turning to the cavalier, I heard the faint cry of an infant, and distinguished for a moment the glisten of a little white mantle and cap, as she laid her charge in the arms of her companion. The officer immediately lifted her into the boat, and as soon as she was seated, the cavalier delivered to her the child, and folding it carefully in her cloak, I heard her half-suppressed voice lulling the infant from its disturbance. A brief word and a momentary grasp of the hand passed between the lady and the cavalier, and the officer lifting his hat, the boat pushed off, the oars fell in the water, and the galley glided down the creek with a velocity which soon rendered her but a shadow in the grey tide. In a few minutes I lost sight of her altogether; but I still distinguished the faint measured plash of the oars and the feeble wail of the infant's voice float along the still water.

"For some moments I thought I had seen the last of the little bark, which seemed to venture like an enchanted skiff into that world of black waters. But suddenly I caught a glimpse of the narrow boat, and the dark figures of the men, gliding across the bright stream of moonlight upon the tide; an instant after a faint gleam blinked on the white mantle of the lady and the sparkle of the oars; but it died away by degrees, and neither sound nor sight returned again.

"For more than a quarter of an hour the tall black figure of the cavalier continued fixed upon the same spot, and in the same attitude; but suddenly the broad gigantic shadow of the frigate swung round in the moonshine, her sails filled to the breeze, and dimly brightening in the light, she bore off slow and still and stately towards the west."—p. 59.

In the next tale, entitled "The Red Eagle," we are intro-

duced to the Highlands at a later period, where our acquaintance MacDonell of Glendulochan happens to have his curiosity excited by odd stories about a certain mysterious stranger, who had arrived in those parts "in a great King's ship," and had hired for a temporary residence "the grand auld house of Dundarach." Glendulochan is conversing on the subject with a hoary herdsman :—

"Does he wear the Highland dress?" said I.

"Ou ye never seed the like, except Glengarve," replied Alaister.

"And what did you call him?" said I.

"The folk call him Iolair Dhearg, the Red Eagle, for his red tartan and the look o's ee, that was never in the head o' man nor bird but the eagle and Prince Charlie. But Muster Robison, the post-mister in Port Michael, says his name is Captain O'Haleran, and that he is son to ane great admiral in the suthe enew; but I dinna think it; for the auld French bodie his servant, ca's him whiles Munsenur, and Halt's Rile' [Altesse Royale], 'and a poor o' names that I canna mind.'

"But O'Haleran is not a Highland name," said I.

"Feint a bit o't," exclaimed Alaister; 'but ye greit folk tak what names ye will when ye're traevling.'—p. 113.

Of the "auld Admiral O'Haleran" we are told that the reason of his bearing such a "lang auld farand Ireland name" was that his father "was married upon a lassie out of yon country wi' a muckle tocher, and sine he tuke her name, though he himself should be Yearl of Strathgowrie" (p. 119).

In the sequel of the same tale, we have the *Iolair Dhearg* introduced to a very aged Highland chief who, being much in the state of the *Père Turlututu* of the Vaudeville, mistakes him for Prince Charles himself, and tells his "Royal Highness" that the last time he saw him was "on the morning of Culloden."

In the last of the Tales, which is called "The Wolf's Den," we have the marriage of the Iolair to an English lady, by name Catherine Bruce; and in the course of this Tale he is expressly addressed as "My Prince," by the Chevalier Græme,

chamberlain to the Countess d'Albanie. The date of the marriage is not exactly given; for although the Iolair is represented as having, in the summer of 1790, rescued this lady, to whom he had been previously attached, from the hands of smugglers, and carried her off towards Berwick, yet here the Tale rather abruptly stops. It is mentioned that they were married, but this statement is separated from the previous account by an indefinite gap, which affords us no further indication of time than that the marriage of the *Iolair* must have been subsequent to the adventure of 1790.

We have given unusually long extracts—for we were resolved to place the whole story before our readers in the author's own language. Its import is plainly this—that Charles Edward had in 1773 by his wife, the Princess Louisa of Stolberg Guedern, a son, whose birth was kept secret;—who was carried privately on board an English frigate, the commander of which, Commodore, afterwards Admiral O'Hale-ran, *de jure* Earl of Strathgowrie, brought up the child as his own son, and under his own name;—that this scion of royalty afterwards appeared on board of a man-of-war among the Western Isles of Scotland—was married to an English lady—and was still alive in 1831. In short, we are constrained to believe that although the appearance of incognito has been maintained by adopting false names, the authors of the Tales have had a serious object in view, and intend us to receive it as a fact that the direct line of the House of Stuart still survives in the person of this hitherto invisible Iolair Dhearg—or, if he be dead since 1831, of the offspring of his marriage—which marriage occurred soon after 1790.

The date on the title-page of these Tales by no means marks the time when a story of the drift above sketched first came into circulation. For twenty years past a rumour of this kind has been current in Scotland, which with ever increasing distinctness identifies the officer in the Naval Service of George III., who carried off, and brought up, the son of

Charles Edward, with a certain Admiral Allen—whose name is in the obituary of the "Gentleman's Magazine" for October, 1800—thus: "Oct. 2. At his house in Devonshire Place, John Carter Allen, Esq., Admiral of the White." In the succeeding Number appears this letter:—

"MR. URBAN,

Nov. 20.

"As your obituary is superior to everything of the kind, and affords your readers many agreeable anecdotes of families, I send you a few of the late Admiral Allen, who was mentioned in your last, p. 1010. He was not only related to the Marchioness of Salisbury and Marquis of Downshire, but Lord Hillsborough gave it as his opinion that the title of Errol belonged to him, as being descended from the old Earl Hay in the male line. He was brought up at Westminster School with the late Lord Keppel, from which an intimacy was formed; and he fought with him several times, particularly in the engagement called unfortunately Lee-shore; when, from his active spirit, he so far engaged the enemy, that, from mistake, he was fired upon by his friend, which, on Lord Keppel's trial, was brought to prove that the fleet was all confusion. Likewise when Lord Howe went to relieve Gibraltar, Capt. Allen, in the Royal William, led the van and helped to drive the French and Spanish fleets before them. He was connected with, and favoured by, the Rockingham party, and in great friendship with Admiral Barrington and Admiral Lord Hotham. After the Marquis's death, though he was not called to actual service, his Majesty was pleased to promote him to the highest rank in the navy as Admiral of the White. He married to his first wife, a lady with a large fortune, which principally descends to Mr. Hatch; and, after her decease, he married an amiable lady, whose extensive estates are in Jamaica. Having particularly desired to be buried in his family-vault at Hackney, built about 200 years ago by Sir Thomas Rowe, Lord Mayor, who left something annually for its support, the Marquis of Downshire was applied to for the key, who represented that the vault and chapel over it were in too ruinous a state at present, from the removal of the old church, which has so damaged them as to occasion a dispute between him and Lord A., the Lord of the Manor, and therefore the corpse is deposited till the vault is repaired.

"Yours, &c., WM. SCOTT."

Errol being in the district of Gowrie, no one can now fail to recognise in this account of Admiral Carter Allen, who

ought to have been Earl of Errol, the prototype of Admiral O'Haleran, who ought to have been Earl of Strathgowrie.

On the 11th of February, 1800, Admiral Allen made his will, which may be seen at Doctors' Commons. In it he mentions two sons, "Captain John Allen of his Majesty's Navy," and "Lieutenant Thomas Allen of his Majesty's Navy." The latter of these gentlemen, Thomas Allen, was married in 1792. The parish-register of Godalming, in Surrey, contains this entry :—

"Thomas Allen of the parish of Egham, bachelor, and Katharine Matilda Manning of this parish, spinster, were married in this church by licence this second day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, by me

OWEN MANNING, Vicar.

"This marriage was solemnised between us { THOMAS ALLEN.
KATHARINE MATILDA
MANNING.

"In the presence of { JANE MANNING.
ANNE MANNING."

And the same event appears in the list of marriages in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for October, 1792, thus :—

"Oct. 2.—Mr. Allen, third Lieutenant in the Navy, and son of Admiral Allen, to Miss Catherine Manning, second daughter of the Rev. Mr. Owen Manning, vicar of Godalming."

In this gentleman, Lieutenant Thomas Allen, we believe the prototype of *the Iolair Dhearg* may be as certainly recognised, as was that of his reputed father Admiral O'Haleran in Admiral Carter Allen. The *Iolair* calls himself Captain, and is seen in connection with a man-of-war and displaying remarkable powers of seamanship during a storm among the Hebrides; Thomas Allen was a Lieutenant in the navy. The *Iolair* passed for the son of Admiral O'Haleran; Thomas Allen for the son of Admiral Carter Allen. The *Iolair* married Catherine Bruce some time after the summer of 1790; Thomas

Allen married Catherine Manning in 1792. Nay, if we mistake not, circumstances which are related of the Iolair in connection with his marriage have left consequences traceable in the history of Lieutenant Allen. The tale of the "Wolf's Den" is entirely occupied with the endeavours of Admiral O'Haleran and the Chevalier Græme, already known to us as the guide of Dr. Beaton from St. Rosalie, to prevent the Iolair from injuring the prospects of his house by such a *mésalliance* as they considered his union with Catherine Bruce would be ; and we have a scene in which the royal birth of the Iolair is spoken of without concealment, and in which the Admiral implores his "foster-son" with tears in his eyes not to break by such a marriage the last hope that was withering on his *father's* foreign tomb (p. 194). The Iolair, however, was inexorable. Now on looking to Admiral Allen's will, we see that while he left his son John £2200, he left Thomas only £100, from which it appears but a fair inference that Thomas had in fact incurred the Admiral's displeasure by some such circumstance as an imprudent marriage. But further. Thomas Allen had two sons, of whom the elder published a volume of poetry in 1822, to which he put his name as "John Hay Allan, Esq.," while the marriage of the other appears in the number of Blackwood's Magazine for November, 1822, thus: "October 9, at London, Charles Stuart, youngest son of Thomas Hay Allan, Esq., of Hay, to Ann, daughter of the late Right Hon. John Beresford, M.P. for the county of Waterford." The introduction of the name "Hay" before "Allan," and the designation "of Hay," are easily explained by Admiral Allen's claims to the Earldom of Errol. The change in the spelling of the name from "Allen" to "Allan" appears to have been adopted in consequence of the removal of the family from England, where the former mode is prevalent, to Scotland, where the latter is the usual form. These two gentlemen, who called themselves in 1822 John Hay Allan and Charles Stuart Hay Allan, have

now placed their names on the title-pages of the "Vestiarium" and of the "Tales of the Century" as John Sobieski Stuart and Charles Edward Stuart, and we cannot hesitate to understand this assumption of names, both of which bear so plain a reference to the exiled family, as a declaration that the history given in the "Tales of the Century" is in fact that of their own family, and that their father, although the reputed son of Admiral Allen, was in reality the legitimate son of Prince Charles Edward Stuart. Now this is a serious matter. We are far from wishing to curb in any way the fancy of our historical novelists, or to examine too closely the actual existence of every knight or noble whom a writer of that class may present to us as achieving mighty deeds in the train of Philip Augustus or of Pedro the Cruel, but when we are told that a legitimate son of Charles Edward Stuart was alive as late as 1831, and that two of his sons are writing or editing books in 1846, the truth or falsehood of such a statement concerns the history of our own time and country much too nearly to be so lightly disposed of.

The notices which we lately collected (without the slightest reference to this story) concerning the last of the Stuart family in Italy (Q. R., No. 157), may perhaps be thought to have rendered any further examination of the facts needless; but since we have taken up the question, let it be settled. The authors of the "Tales of the Century" distinctly ascribe the concealment of the birth of the lawful son of Charles Edward to the fear of assassination by emissaries of the Hanoverian family; but, passing over this egregious motive, *could* such a concealment have been effected? Where were the attendants on the Princess Louisa and the other inmates of the villa where the birth is said to have taken place? The little page in scarlet who conducted the doctor to the chamber of his patient? Is it conceivable that such an event could have escaped their eyes at the time, or their gossiping propensities afterwards? Different indeed must they have been from the

generality of the attendants of royalty, if any restraint whatever could prevent their repeating not only all that did happen, but a good deal besides. Then the embarkation of the infant on board the frigate. Where were the officers and crew? Was curiosity extinct among them as to all this mystery? Nay even the participators in the secret, Dr. Beaton and his mysterious guide of St. Rosalie, and others who like them had sworn not to reveal the fact except for *the King's service*; the French servant of the *Iolair*, who seems to have addressed him as *Monseigneur* and *Altesse Royale* without much consideration for his hearers, &c. &c.,—were none of them treacherous, not one of them injudicious? In one word, had such an event ever taken place, is it possible that it could have remained a secret?

We know that from the time when Charles Edward left Scotland in 1746 till his death in 1788, he was the object of the constant attention of the British government. The envoys at Paris, at Leghorn, at Florence, and at Rome, kept watch upon him day and night, and reported to the Secretary of State every circumstance they could ascertain of his domestic life. Their despatches on this subject form several bulky volumes in the State Paper Office; and the selections from them printed for the Roxburghe Club are quite sufficient to establish the perfection of the system of espionage. More especially, from the date of his father's death in 1766, when Charles Edward settled in Italy, he was subject to the constant surveillance of the acute, indefatigable Sir Horace Mann (the correspondent of Horace Walpole), who held the office of envoy at Florence for no less than forty-six years—from 1740 to 1786. From his despatches, during the period in question, Lord Mahon has selected upwards of eighty, from which it appears most clearly that he was not overrating either his zeal or his opportunities when he wrote from Florence, on the 26th September, 1775: "In the course of my letters since the Pretender's residence here, I have informed your Lordship

of everything that related to him that I judged worthy of your Lordship's notice, of which I have the most authentic means of being informed." Not only does it appear that he was in constant communication with the *physicians* who attended the object of his watch, and with several of his associates, but it is evident, from the many anecdotes of Charles Edward's most private life which he details, and which are clearly verified by circumstances mentioned in subsequent letters, that he must have had his information from day to day, and from those immediately about the Prince's person.

It is in the face of such a surveillance as this, that the adventure of Dr. Beaton is said to have occurred in 1773, the year after Charles's marriage. In the end of that year Sir Horace thus shows his familiarity with the state of matters in his household :—

“Florence, Dec. 11th, 1773.

“For some time after his marriage, he abstained from any great excess in wine, but of late he has given into it again as much as ever ; so that he is seldom quite sober, and frequently commits the greatest disorders in his family. This behaviour had made Mr. Carol, the principal person about him, whom they call Lord Carol, take a resolution to leave him entirely, but Cardinal York has induced him to defer his departure at least for some little time longer.”

From this it is evident that Sir Horace had information from within the household of Charles Edward of the state of matters there since his marriage, and that his attention had been turned, as it most naturally would, to the very point in question further appears from a letter dated upwards of a year previously :—

“As I have lately observed an article in the English newspapers which asserts that Cardinal York was dead, and that his sister-in-law is with child, I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship that both these circumstances are false.”—Sept. 22, 1772.

This story, which he had seen in the English papers, is the only allusion to such a prospect that occurs in the whole course of Sir Horace's despatches, and when we observe the

number of singular anecdotes of the private life of Charles Edward and his consort which had come to the envoy's knowledge, and how evidently they were all along surrounded by spies, both within their family and beyond it, it is absolutely incredible that such an event as the birth of the only hope of the House of Stuart—for Cardinal York's priestly character extinguished all such expectations from him—could have taken place without the slightest rumour of it having transpired.

Our readers will pardon us for recurring once more to the conduct of the exiled family after the marriage of Louisa of Stolberg. That alliance, as is universally known, proved eminently unhappy, and the differences between her and her consort gradually increased until the latter part of the year 1780, when she entirely withdrew herself from him. For four years after this period he lived alone, and when, in 1784, his advancing age—he was then sixty-four—and the prospect of increasing infirmities rendered the tenderness and unwearied devotion of a child especially desirable for him, the measures adopted by him are equally notorious. Had a son been born to him in 1773, he must then have been eleven years of age, yet we hear nothing of any son, and it is to Charlotte Stuart, his daughter by Miss Walkenshaw, that he looks for the support of his declining years. In the month of July, 1784, he executes a deed with all the necessary forms, legitimating this person, and bestowing upon her the title of Albany, by which he had himself been known for fourteen years, with the rank of Duchess. To legitimate his natural daughter, and give her the reversion of his own title, was certainly not very like the act of a man who had a lawful son in existence. But furthermore, in this same year 1784, he executed his will, by which, with the exception of a legacy to his brother the Cardinal and annuities to a few of his attendants, he left all he possessed to the Duchess of Albany—his palace at Florence with all its rich furniture, all his plate and jewels, including not only those brought into the family by his mother

the Princess Clementina Sobieski—(among which were two rubies of great value which had been pledged with her father by the Republic of Poland, and a large shield of gold presented to the heroic John Sobieski, King of Poland, by the Emperor Leopold after the siege of Vienna)—but also such of the crown-jewels of England as had been conveyed to the continent by James II. Is it conceivable that, if Charles Edward had had a legitimate son, he would thus have alienated from him not only his Italian residence, and the Polish jewels which he had inherited from his mother—one of which, as appears from a letter of Sir Horace Mann, dated November 8th, 1783, he intended to add to the crown-jewels—but even the ancient crown-jewels of England, which he himself possessed only in virtue of those royal claims which he would thus hand down to a disinherited son?

The Duchess of Albany survived her father not quite two years, but even during that short period her actions demonstrate her entire ignorance that he had left any other male heir than his brother. Shortly after the death of Charles Edward, she sent to the Cardinal York the whole of the crown-jewels; and at her death she left him the whole of her property, with the exception of an annuity to her mother, Miss Walkenshaw, who for some time survived her, and who bore among the Jacobites the title of Countess Alberstroff.

One glance at the subsequent history of the Princess Louisa of Stolberg, the alleged mother of this mysterious infant. Her separation from her husband had been mainly brought about through the assistance of the poet Alfieri, with whom she continued on the most intimate terms. It is uncertain whether she was ever married to him, but, at his death, the income, which the kindness of Cardinal York had secured to her on her separation from his brother, was further increased by her lover's bequest of his whole property. Alfieri's place in her affections then devolved upon a Frenchman, named Fabre, to whom also it has been said that she was married.

She survived till 1824, when her alleged son must have been in his fifty-first year, yet, at her death, her whole property, including the seal and the portrait of Charles Edward, and some other memorials of that alliance, she bequeathed to her last admirer Fabre; who in his turn bequeathed those Stuart relics to their present possessor, Signor Santirelli, a sculptor at Florence.

The proceedings of the Cardinal of York are equally conclusive. The gentle and amiable disposition of this survivor might have led to the expectation that his rights, as a member of the royal house of Stuart, would have been merged by him in his character as a dignified ecclesiastic. But such was not the case, for no sooner was his brother dead, than he immediately adopted all the form and etiquette usual in the residence of a reigning monarch, and insisted on its observance not only by his own attendants but by his visitors.* He published protests asserting his right to the British crown, and caused medals to be struck, bearing his head, with the inscriptions "Henricus Nonus Angliæ Rex," and "Henricus IX. Magn. Brit. Franciæ et Hibern. Rex, Fid. Def., Card. Ep. Tusc." one of which, we believe, is now in the possession of Her Majesty. Cardinal York at this period was, beyond all doubt, ignorant of the existence of a nearer heir of the rights of his family than himself, which a son of his brother would have been. Yet when his sister-in-law left her husband, only seven years after the alleged birth, the Cardinal sent for her to Rome, received her with tender affection, and watched over her interests with the most anxious care, until he had procured her a suitable establishment from his brother. Were these complicated negotiations entirely carried through without the Princess's ever mentioning to one so nearly related to her, the

* It is asserted by a recent biographer of Charles Edward (Klose) that a Prince of the House of Hanover, being anxious to have an interview with the Cardinal, signified his willingness to accede to the usual condition, and was admitted accordingly.

existence of her son? Nay more, we see from Sir Horace Mann's despatches, that when the health of Charles Edward finally gave way, the Duchess of Albany brought about a complete reconciliation between her father and uncle, in consequence of which the titular king removed his residence to Rome, being there cordially received by the Cardinal, who presented him to the Pope and continued on terms of the most affectionate intimacy with him till his death two years afterwards. Can it be imagined that Charles Edward would not communicate to his brother, during this period of confidential intercourse, the existence of his son, had there lived such a person? Finally, there is abundant evidence that the Cardinal remained till his own death, in 1807, in the belief that he was himself his brother's heir. The will of Cardinal York, which had been executed in the year 1790, and is still preserved at Rome, is singular. In it he leaves his whole possessions to two executors in trust, for purposes which are not specified in the will, but which he therein says he had previously communicated to his executors. It was from the first clear that these purposes could have no connection with any concealed heir of the Stuart blood, for the will itself contains a formal declaration of his own right to the British crown, and a protest in favour of his own nearest lawful heir, who could not of course by any means be the son of his elder brother. All doubt, however, as to the actual instructions left by him was removed by his principal executor, Canon Cæsarini, who, in the year after the Cardinal's death, made a formal note of the verbal instructions received by him, and sealed it up, so to remain till Charles Edward's widow should be dead, and certain estates in Mexico realised. The revolution in Mexico having rendered this realisation impossible, the Pope, in 1831, ordered Cæsarini's note to be opened, when it was found to contain directions for the application of the Cardinal's whole property in aid of certain missionary enterprises under the management of the Propaganda. Thus the last remnant

of the property of the Stuarts went to that Church, their adherence to which had cost them three kingdoms.

If from the ex-royal family we turn to that by whom the secret is said to have been preserved, the result is equally clear and inevitable. The sketch of Admiral Allen's life, which we have quoted from the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," not only contains no allusion to the existence of any such rumour as that now under our notice, but it does not even mention him as connected in any way with any persons of Jacobite principles or predilections. On the contrary, the Rockingham party, with whom he is said to have been connected, were not even Tories, but Whigs. Had Charles Edward been in a situation to confide so delicate a trust to any one, it is impossible to conceive that he would have selected any other than one of his staunchest adherents; yet we are now called upon to believe that this charge was intrusted to one whose political relations seem to have been with the opposite party. But there is more behind—we can appeal to the direct testimony of the very persons most concerned in the theory of the "*Tales of a Century*." Their hero, the Iolair Dhearg, is represented as aware of his real parentage prior to the scene in 1790, yet the notice of Thomas Allen's marriage in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" expressly calls him "son of Admiral Allen." The Admiral himself died, as we have seen, in October, 1800, and had made his will in February of the same year. In it he expressly names as his son "Lieutenant Thomas Allen of His Majesty's Navy." On what possible principle can this be accounted for?—What conceivable motive could induce the officer intrusted by Charles Edward with the care of the only hope of the House of Stuart, to leave in his will, and that will, too, executed in the year of his death, a flat denial of the royal birth of his illustrious ward? The fact is utterly irreconcilable with the existence of such a secret, and appears to us absolutely conclusive. There was no occasion for the Admiral stating in his will whose son Thomas Allen was. He

might have left him £100, without any allusion to his parentage; but when he deliberately, and, as lawyers say, *in intuitu mortis*, assures us that this gentleman, the father of those who now assume names so directly indicative of royal pretensions, was his own son, we are inclined to give him credit for a clearer knowledge of the truth than any now alive can possess.

We have now done with the Iolair Dhearg. We have endeavoured to sever him from the stem on which fancy has been pleased to engraft him, with as gentle a hand as might be. It gives us no pleasure to bring down such a *Château en Espagne* about the ears of those to whose personal gratification it must be supposed to have ministered; but the nature of the claim, and the fact that some credulous rural dignitaries have been lending it countenance, seemed to impose the duty of demolition on some of our craft. The attempt to persuade the world that Charles Edward left a legitimate male progeny is the silliest of dreams; and no rational creature can doubt that the broken diadem which lies so touchingly at the foot of the cross in the frontispiece to the work of Messrs. "John Sobieski Stuart" and "Charles Edward Stuart," is now the heritage of a branch of the Imperial House of Austrian Lorraine, in the person of the eldest son of the Duke of Modena.*

* We are almost ashamed to tell what every one ought to know as well as ourselves. "The death of Cardinal York extinguished the descendants of James the Second, and as he had no brother but Charles the Second, who predeceased him without legitimate issue, the succession then opened to the descendants of his sister, the Princess Henrietta Maria, wife of Philip Duke of Orleans. She died in 1670, leaving two daughters. After her death the Duke of Orleans married Charlotte, daughter of the Elector Palatine, from whom the subsequent family of Orleans, and the present King of the French, are descended. Mary, eldest daughter of the Princess Henrietta Maria, married Charles the Second, king of Spain, but died without issue. Her sister Ann, second daughter of the Princess Henrietta Maria, married Victor Amedeus, king of Sardinia. Their son, Charles Emanuel the Third, succeeded in 1730, and was succeeded by his son, Victor Amedeus the Third. Charles Emanuel the Fourth, eldest son of Victor Amedeus the Third, died without issue, and was succeeded by his

With whom the Iolair invention originated we know not. In such cases there is usually one, or a small number of deceivers, and many deceived; and it is as common to find those most concerned in the truth of the story in the latter as in the former position. This much, however, we can say:—there are distinct indications that the present genealogical fiction is the offspring of the same fertile imagination which produced the literary fiction of the “Vestiarium Scoticum.” This appears no more than the inevitable inference from the statement that the MS. of the “Vestiarium” was found among the papers of Charles Edward himself. Moreover, it is capable of proof that neither the “Vestiarium of Sir Richard Urquhart, Knight,” nor the romantic history of the Iolair Dhearg was the first attempt of this literary and genealogical adventurer. In a certain volume of poetry already alluded to as having been published in 1822, we find a piece entitled “The Gathering of the Hays,” of which we shall transcribe the opening stanzas:—

“GATHERING.

“MacGaradh! MacGaradh! red race of the Tay!
 Ho! gather! ho! gather like hawks to the prey!
 MacGaradh, MacGaradh, MacGaradh, come fast,
 The flame’s on the beacon, the horn’s on the blast.
 The standard of Errol unfolds its white breast,
 And the falcon of Loncarty stirs in her nest.
 Come away, come away, come to the tryst,
 Come in, MacGaradh, from east and from west!

“MacGaradh! MacGaradh! MacGaradh, come forth!
 Come from your bowers, from south and from north,

brother Victor Emanuel. Victor Emanuel left twin daughters, the eldest-born of whom, Mary Beatrice, married Francis Duke of Modena, while the crown of Sardinia passed to her father’s heirs male. The Duchess Mary Beatrice of Modena has left two sons, the elder of whom, Francis, born on the 1st of June, 1819, is now the unquestionable heir of the House of Stuart.—By a singular coincidence, this Prince’s sister is wife to the exiled head of the House of Bourbon.”

Come in all Gowrie, Kinoul, and Tweedale !
 Drumelzier and Naughton, come lock'd in your mail !
 Come Stuart ! come Stuart ! set up thy white rose !
 Killour and Buckcleugh, bring thy bills and thy bows !
 Come in, MacGaradh ! come arm'd for the fray !
 Wide is the war-cry, and dark is the day.

“QUICK MARCH.

“The Hay ! the Hay ! the Hay ! the Hay !
 MacGaradh is coming ! Give way ! give way !
 The Hay ! the Hay ! the Hay ! the Hay !
 MacGaradh is coming, give way !
 MacGaradh is coming, clear the way !
 MacGaradh is coming, hurra ! hurra !
 MacGaradh is coming, clear the way !
 MacGaradh is coming, hurra !” *

The author of the other poems comprised in the volume—Mr. John Hay Allan, now Mr. John Sobieski Stuart—tells us in his notes that he copied this piece “from an old leaf pasted into an old MS. history of the Hays,” and that he had “seen a version of the first stanza in Gaelic.” The first and second stanzas he considers decidedly ancient ; the remaining verses as having been composed by a certain Captain James Hay in 1715. It is further explained to us, apparently from the same MS. history, that “MacGaradh” was the ancient name of the Hays, “Garadh” signifying in Gaelic “a dike or barrier,” and being therefore nearly synonymous with the French “haie,” a “hedge.” The patronymic of the chief, we are told, was “MacMhic Garadh Mor an Sgithan Dearg”—“the son of the son of Garadh the Great of the red shields.” Of this “old MS. History” we know no more than is contained in the above references to it in the Editorial Notes of 1822 :—but the “Gathering” is so manifestly an imitation of Scott’s “Pibroch of Donuil Dhu,” composed in 1816,

* See “The Bridal of Caolchairn, and other Poems,” by John Hay Allan, Esq. London, Hookham ; and Edinburgh, Tait. 8vo. 1822.

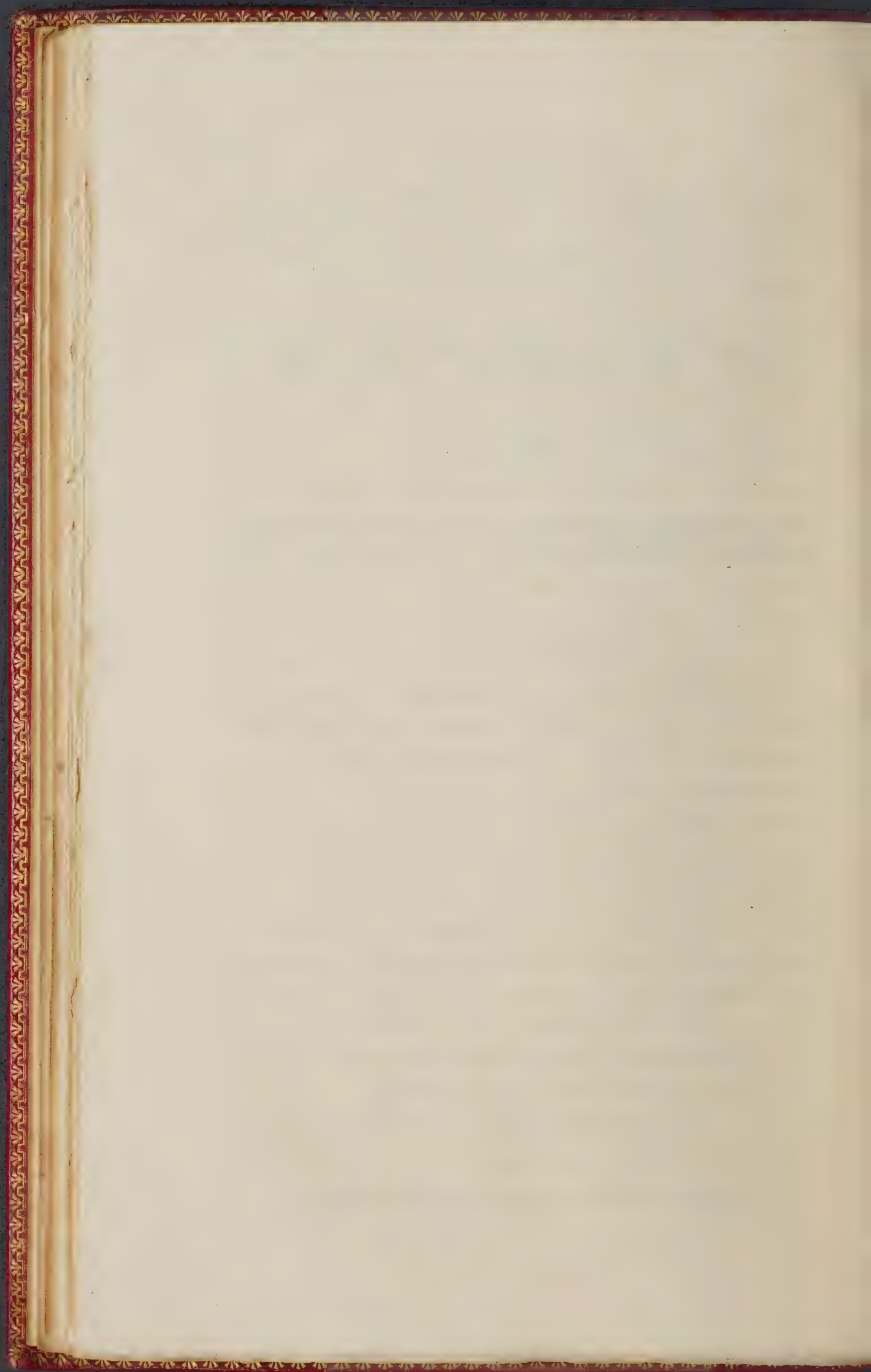
enriched with an occasional touch from the popular song of "The Campbells are coming," that the youngest Miss Hay who fingers a pianoforte cannot suppose it really ancient; and we have no doubt from this, and from the unnatural association of Gaelic names and phrases with the purely Lowland family of the Hays, that, were the "old MS. History of the Hays" itself before us, it would prove a genuine elder brother of the Vestiarium "from the Douay papers." It is tolerably obvious, in short, that our ingenious manipulator, whoever he may be, has arrived by cautious degrees at the *crowning* of his imposture. In the poetical compilation of 1822, there occurred indeed an intimation that the gentleman named on its title-page claimed a descent in some way from the Stuarts (p. 97), but we were left without any explanation on that subject—while the MS. History of the Hays and the Gathering of the MacGaradh were brought prominently forward. Encouraged by the success of those smaller experiments, the artist appears to have advanced from his mystifications about a single noble family, whose real history is quite well known, to the more perplexed pedigrees of the Highland clans, with the phantasmagoria of their variegated tartans—which decorations he then liberally imparted to the harnessed spearmen of the southern border, and even to the purest of the Anglo-Norman houses conspicuous in the authentic annals of Scotland—yea, even to Bruce, Hamilton, and Lyndsay!—until he was at last encouraged to produce in a tangible shape this more ambitious invention of the Iolair Dhearg—announcing openly to the dandies of the Celtic Club and the dowagers of the Inverness Meeting that "*they have yet a KING!*"

A REPLY
TO
THE "QUARTERLY REVIEW"
UPON THE
VESTIARIUM SCOTICUM.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS,
EDINBURGH AND LONDON.
CHARLES DOLMAN, LONDON.

MDCCCXLVIII.

[Reprinted by Special Permission of the Publisher.]



A REPLY TO THE "QUARTERLY REVIEW."

IN the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1847, there appeared a criticism, or—rather—a hostile attack upon the work entitled "The Vestiarium Scoticum," edited by John Sobieski Stuart, and as *all* the positions of that attack are unfounded, and some of the principal assertions *false*, it is necessary to exhibit their presumptions and untruths.

The writer begins by declaring that the "Vestiarium Scoticum" was first introduced into notice by the editor at the visit of King George IV. to Edinburgh in 1822, in order to "instruct" his "less learned countrymen in the mysteries of plaids and badges." *This is an untruth.* At the period mentioned, neither the editor nor the MS. of the Vestiarium were in *Scotland*, nor did he return to that country until four years afterwards—in 1826,—nor had he any correspondence at or near that time with any person relative to the visit of George IV., the tartans, or any such subjects. When, afterwards, the MS. came to be noticed, it was not, as asserted by the reviewer, either "whispered," or "mysteriously," nor with any effort of the possessor, to impose it as a standard of authority, but merely in the incidental reference of those who, acquainted with its existence, were curious concerning its contents. When, at length, it was offered for publication, it was only to gratify the repeated importunity of manufacturers, who, having derived great advantage from its resources, were solicitous for its general use. The *costly* illustrations, noticed

with a sneer by the reviewer, were not given for literary ostentation, but because they were the *best*, and the most *economical* method of communicating the designs. Merely in a literary view, it is well known that the editor always considered the work entirely unfitted for ostentatious display, or costly expense; and that he consented to its edition solely in consideration of the advantages which it was expected to convey to Scottish manufacturers; for, from the improvements effected by its private reference, it was thought that it would afford a popular utility in the possession of the public. The reviewer, however, has considered the volume only as an egotistical production of editorial vanity. In this spirit of perversion he proceeds to proclaim an opinion asserted to have been delivered by Sir Walter Scott, that the MS. was a clumsy imitation of the genuine writing of its professed period, "and unentitled to any credit." The reviewer, however, has *concealed* that Sir Walter Scott *never saw the original MS.*, and that *he died some years before the publication of the printed edition*—consequently, that *he never had any opportunity of forming a judgment* even from a careful and formal copy. According to the acknowledgment of the reviewer himself, the asserted opinion of Sir Walter was founded upon a "*description of the MS., with a transcript of a part, if not the whole.*" How far any critic could presume to form a judgment upon any "*transcript*," especially an imperfect "*part*," of a work, we leave to the experience of those accustomed to the criticism of old writings. But the reviewer has farther concealed the nature of the "*transcript*" said to have been exhibited to Sir Walter Scott. After the originals of the Vestiarium were in the possession of its editor, there never was made more than *one* "*transcript*,"—that alluded to by the reviewer as "*a Transcript obtained by a Gentleman in the North.*" This *copy*, or, as admitted by the reviewer, "*a part*," was transmitted by the transcriber to some of his friends in Edinburgh, at which time we believe,

as asserted by the reviewer, it was casually shown to Sir Walter Scott. The reviewer, however, has *concealed* the nature of this transcript, upon which Sir Walter's asserted opinion is so maliciously quoted. Far from being, as might have been expected, a critical fac-simile, or even matter-of-fact copy from the original, it was a sort of "Hood's Comic Almanack" of tartans, neatly written, not in "clerk's," "scrivener's," or any other MS. text of the 16th century, but in ordinary *roman letter*, consequently, exhibiting no "imitation" of the "*genuine writing*" of the period, said to have been contradistinguished in Sir Walter's observation, and still farther at variance with the original or any object of *serious* criticism, by being illustrated in vermilion with bizarre caricatures in the form of burlesque head and tail pieces, generally graphic puns and hieroglyphics for the name of each family whose title they adorned. Of their description, consequently of the serious character of the MS., of which Sir Walter Scott's criticism is so gravely reported, a conclusion may be formed by a few examples, such as, for "*Dundas*," the sketch of a small "*Dun*,"* and on its summit an "*Ass*." For "*Brodie*," pronounced in Scots, "*Broadie*," a large—*i.e.*, a "*Broad*" eye. And for "*Montgomery*," the view of a "*Mount*," enlivened by several *dancing figures*, intended to associate the idea of "*go-merry*," and the like. Such is the MS. said to have been exhibited to and condemned by Sir Walter Scott, as "*of no authority whatever*." Its removal from authority, however, was farther extended by the fact, that it was not even a transcript of the *oldest* MS., on which the reviewer sits in judgment, but of an *inferior*, tattered, and inaccurate copy, *no older than the year 1721*, and which was the only one in "*the North*," when the amiable and distinguished friend of the possessor, designated by the reviewer after that borealian locality, made the transcript,

* Gaelic, a *hill*.

with which he amused some idle winter days, with the conceits which, it was then predicted, would extend to the original a connection of misconception and ridicule. According to this expectation, all those who became acquainted with the tract only through the medium of the copy, supposed that the *illustrations*, as well as the text, were equally fac-similes of the original MS., and if Sir Walter Scott had no explanation to the contrary, he, of course, entertained the same conclusion, and thus must have supposed the tract a greater enormity of absurdity than has ever been assumed by the reviewer. There are one or two other touches, however, in which the writer, or his informants, have still farther departed from the truth. To give a sharper sting to the *asserted** sarcasm attributed to the imposing name of Scott, the reviewer is pleased to incorporate a facetious pleasantry with his "last words," to what is solemnly called "The *Deputation*" of *antiquaries*, who exhibited before him the "*Dun-Ass*," "Mount-go-merry," and other humours of the "transcript": "Well, I think the march of the second rising must be—not 'Hey tutti! tutti!' but '*The Devil among the Tailors*.'" This merry saying, however, was not emitted by Sir Walter upon the review of the *Vestiarium Scoticum*—but *seven years before*, upon the agitation, excitement, distraction, and difficulties of the tailors and their employers, in getting up the necessary sumptuary supplies to meet the visit of George IV., in 1822. With similar accuracy, the reviewer also reports that Sir Walter was of opinion that the materials of the *Vestiarium* might be traced to one of the clan-tartan warehouses in Edinburgh; had he, however, thought proper to examine the volume and its suspected coincidences, he would have discovered that, in almost every example, the tartans given in the *Vestiarium* are in *decided contradiction* to those

* We say *asserted*, because, knowing, from an *ear-witness*, that what follows is *false*, we do not admit, as a received fact, any part of the observation attributed to Scott.

which, before its appearance, were sold under the same names in the shops, especially in the warehouse to which he alludes. These inveracities are unimportant in themselves, but they are noticed to show the spirit of the review, and the degree of dependence to be placed upon its presumptions and assertions.

The reviewer next assumes that he is going to display internal condemnatory evidence out of the matter of the work itself. For this purpose, he begins by citing a genealogical error in the text, which, in the notice of the MacNabs, deduces them from the Clan-Donald; whereas it is *now* demonstrated they are descended from the Clan-Grigor. This truth, however, it is well known, has, like many others, lain unnoticed in the well of antiquity, for a period of which it is impossible to ascertain the origin, but during which, the deduction given by the Vestiarium was the *popular*, if not the *universal, belief of the clans and their traditions*—namely, that the MacNabs were descended from the Clan-Donald. Thus, in the genealogies of the Campbells,* copied from the Leabhar dearg, or Red Book of Argyll, the ancient and hereditary genealogical register of their family, the former was expressly said to be derived from an abbot of the convent in Loch Tay, from whence, it is asserted, arose their name—"Mac an Aba," or "*Abbotson*"—and this abbot is decisively designated as a younger son to one of the *MacDonalds of the Isles*. The Gaelic MS., quoted by the reviewer, as contradicting this origin, is *unique*, and of a date one hundred and seventy years *anterior* to any trace of the Vestiarium Scoticum. It is well known that the genealogies kept by the Seannachies of different clans vary exceedingly in their origins; and allowing, therefore, the superior accuracy of

* MS. in the possession of the family of Kilmartin. *Ib.*, Black letter, imperfect, formerly in possession of Captain Robert Campbell (of the family of *Craig*), Campbeltown, and presented by him to the late Duke of Argyll.

the venerable MS. in question, there was abundant space for the propagation of error between its own date, in 1450, and that of the earliest notice of the Vestiarium, in 1571, and such errors, relative to the central clans, were not likely to have been corrected by the author of this work, who, by his name, was most probably a native and inhabitant of Cromarty, Moray, or Aberdeenshire. It is, however, further objected that, in 1606, a bond of man-rent was executed between MacNab, of Bovaine, and MacKinnon, of "Strathardil," an acknowledged cadet of the MacGregors, by which the parties professed that they also were come of "*one lineage*." Waving the question of *how far* the identity of the MacKinnons and MacGregors was generally acknowledged and known in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Bovaine bond of man-rent proves no more than that those *personally* concerned were not *all* ignorant of their *own* particular origins, but it proves nothing against what is otherwise abundantly demonstrated—the misconceptions and errors of distant and *unconnected collectors* and narrators. Among these were the professed historians and genealogists, not only of the *Clan-Donald*,* the very clan from whom popular account, like the Vestiarium, derived the MacNabs; but of the MacNabs themselves, who, in common with neighbouring Seannachies, derived the first "Mac an Aba" from a younger son of MacDonald of the Isles.† The reviewer, however, because it suits his purpose, is pleased to bound the belief of this derivation by the period of Charles II., of which period only he happens to be in possession of an authority, but we take leave to declare, that such a boundary is *imaginary* and *presumptuous*, and that it is *now impossible to affix any period* at which *generally* among the Highlanders, the

* MS. genealogy of the Clan-Donald, in possession of Captain MacKenzie, of Gruinnard, and another among the Glengarrie papers.

† Gaelic MS. genealogy of the Clan-Aba, in possession of the MacNabs, of Barachaisteilan, in Glen-Urcha.

tradition of the deduction of the MacNabs from the Clan-Donald had its origin.

The next objection is against the notice of the Clan-Fhionnlaidh, which is attacked as a chronological error. "That Clan," says the reviewer, having derived its appellation from Fionnladh mòr, a great chief of the race who flourished in 1547; and, therefore, argues the reviewer, his descendants could not have become a clan in twenty-four years, within which period occurs the date 1571, found on the first leaf of the Vestiarium Scoticum. The assumption of the derivation of the appellation from Fionnladh mòr, of 1547, is a presumption *not established*, or even *generally acknowledged*, among the Highlanders; though, from the great distinction and fame of Fionnladh mòr, he had obtained so remarkable a place in the traditions of his clan, that by *some* their name has been associated with his. There were, however, various Finlas in the genealogy of the clan of the same title; it was a popular family name probably common to the earliest of the race; and it is the general belief of the Highlanders that "Clann-Fhionnlaidh" has been the only Gaelic appellation of the race from time immemorial; it is the *only native* name by which, in tradition or otherwise, they can be traced to have been distinguished. The name of Farquharson is merely their English Low-country designation, and was never used among the Gaelic people; while the "Clan-Fhionnlaidh" has been their popular, and Gaelic, and only name among the clans from a period beyond tradition. As to the uncertainty of its origin, there are now many names of septs among the clans of which the source has long been lost, and it is in vain to seek the period and person of the derivation. The early genealogy of the Clann-Fhionnlaidh is involved in abundant obscurity, and it is now impossible to demonstrate how many Finlas there have been in its race, and how early the native and only Gaelic derivation has been derived from one of them.

The next cavil advanced is, that, in the *Vestiarium*, the Clan-Gun is derived from the Clan-O'Duibhne or Campbells; while, in the contemporary account of various tribes by the Dean of the Isles, it is derived from one of three Danish brothers. A reviewer of the work of Sir Donald Munro might as justly argue that his relation was unauthentic because it differed from the *Vestiarium*, but with greater plausibility, because, while the account by the Dean of the Isles is *not of general acceptance*, that of the *Vestiarium* is supported by various old Gaelic genealogies, and a very general belief of the clans, particularly within and around the Clan-Campbell, who might be admitted as some evidence in support of their own cadets! That the derivation of the Clan-Gun, from this race, is incorrect, is a point which we are quite disposed to admit as a critical truth; but, if an error, it was one of too distant and general acceptance to compromise the originality of the *Vestiarium*. In the genealogies of the Clan-Campbell, *duplicates of the Red Book of Argyll*,* the *Clan-Gun* is expressly stated to have been named originally Clann-'ic-Dhuibhne, or, as pronounced, Clan 'ic "*Guine*,"—i.e., the race of the son of O'Duibhne, afterwards abbreviated by the Saxons into Clan-"*Gun*," and declared by the genealogist to have been descended from a younger son of one of the *Knights of Lochawe*, chief of the *Clan-O'Duibhne*, the ancient name of the Campbells. This assertion is made by one of the formal seannachies of the house of Argyll, in which the Red Book of the Clan-Campbell was kept; and as its entry occurs at an early period, and each original entry was made by its *contemporary* sennachie, there remains no doubt that the origin which it attributes to the Clan-Gun—whether true or false—was *two centuries anterior to the supposed period of the Vestiarium Scoticum*. The Danish origin, supported by the reviewer because it was given by *one* testimony—the Dean of the Isles—is itself liable to

* Kilmarten and Craig MSS.

suspicion. The *Danes* and the Irish were favourite sources of family stems in the genealogy of the Hebrides; and hence it may still remain a question, whether the derivation given by the Dean was more than the tradition of the circle with which he happened to be acquainted; that is, *one local story*. Almost all local clan accounts differ considerably: the Dean's version, therefore, might have been merely the Hebridean account, conformable to the popularity of the Danish associations of those islands; that of the Campbell genealogists and the Vestiarium, the *mainland* belief in certain districts. Which is the truth, it may now be difficult to decide; but still more so, what was the age of either derivation.

The next assault is upon the title of "Clunie," as applied to a family of the MacPhersons. "But the chief of the MacPhersons," objects the reviewer, "were not Lairds of Clunie until after the year 1638, prior to which time they held Clunie on a wadset from Lord Huntly, and, when designated from their lands, were styled MacPhersons of Grange." The objection is merely special pleading. The Vestiarium makes no allusion to any assumption that the Laird of Clunie was chief of the MacPhersons. But the MacPhersons have been in the *actual possession* of the lands of Clunie from the time of *Robert the Bruce*, and held them originally *freely*, though afterwards they came under Crown grants, and the feudal nominal superiority of the Huntly family.* One house of the clan was continually named "*of Clunie*" among the Highlanders long anterior to the seventeenth century. It may also be observed, that the title of *Grange* was a *Saxon designation*, never used among the *Gaelic* population of the *Clunie* country.

The reviewer next proceeds to demonstrate a supposed error

* MSS. History of the MacPhersons, in the possession of Clunie MacPherson.

concerning the name of MacIntosh, because, in a "transcript" of the Vestiarium, this clan is named to be "cum of the clan *MacDuff*;" while, in the *printed text* of 1842, it is stated to be "cum of the *Clan-Chattan*." In this case, as in the rest, the reviewer's objections are insidious quibbles. It is well known that, from the earliest period of their history, the MacIntoshes have been universally called the *Clan-Chattan*, as derived on the *female* side from the great heiress of the last *lineal* chief; but it is equally of universal knowledge, that, according to *all the popular genealogies, from a period of which we have no evidence*, they were also derived universally through the husband of this lady from the "Clan-MacDuff," who, according to the genealogists, having been a son of the Thane of Fife, from being the commander of an army, was designated "an Fòiseach," or, the leader. Hence in all the popular *family genealogies*, from a distant period, therefore, the MacIntoshes were derived indifferently and conjointly both from the *Clan-Chattan* and the "Clan-MacDuff." Now, as to the difference between the "transcript" of the Vestiarium, which reads, "from the *Clan-MacDuff*," and the printed copy which gives, "from the *Clan-Chattan*," it is simply this: "The "transcript" was made from an inferior and very imperfect copy, not older than the beginning of the eighteenth century, while the edition was printed from the Douay and St. Augustine MSS., which reads as above said. Had the reviewer examined more carefully the printed edition, he would have seen that *this is mentioned in a marginal note*; that in the three MSS. of the Vestiarium, known to exist, *several variations* of readings occur, and that they *have all been collated and remarked by the editor*."

The next objection is, that in the printed copy of the Vestiarium, while the MacIntoshes are named as descended from the Clan-Chattan, the Farquharsons are given as having come like them from the Clan MacDuff—"Farquharsons, *lyk as Makyntosche, cum of the Clann-MacDuff*." The objection

to this notice is sufficiently answered above ; the reference is to a *popular received fact*. The Farquharsons are, by the greater number of genealogists, *allowed* to be descended from a son of the chief of MacIntosh, called always the *Clan-Chattan* ; but according to all popular tradition, the latter having been equally derived from *MacDuff*, the writer of the MS. merely gives allusion to this particular origin incidentally as an additional illustration of descent,—“ *also descended from the Clan-MacDuff* ”—*i.e.*, in addition to the common origin from “ *the Clan-Chattan* ”—before-mentioned in the notice of the stem line. The truth or fallacy of the MacDuff origin *has nothing to do with the question* ; for, whether true or false, it was of *general* if not *universal acceptance*, ages before the presumed period of the *Vestiarium*, the consistency of whose entries, with the *belief of the time*, is the only point for examination.

These are the particular objections taken against the work ; but there are also others, general assumptions, one against the *minute details of the tartans*, which the *Reviewer* considers to be unnatural and improbable, the other as *to the use of tartans in the low-country*.

As to the first there are various evidences, that, however tartans and their distinctions may now be frivolous and neglected objects, there *was a period* when they were the *great war-livery* and most beloved attribute of the clans ; that they were an object of strict attention ; that their various designs were discriminated and preserved with the most scrupulous care, and that their use in the districts of each clan was so defined and distinctive that the locality of any individual might be known by his dress. The first of these subjects is declared by Martin, who describing the hereditary and traditionary attachment of the Highlanders to their habit and its distinctions relates, that “ the women were *at great pains* to give an exact pattern of each plaid woven in their families upon a piece of wood having the *number of*

every thread of the stripe on it.”* “Every isle,” continues the author, “differs from each other as to the stripes in breadth and colours.” “This is as different through the mainland of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those places are able, at the first view of a man’s plaid, to guess the place of his residence.”† It may be objected that these were mere *district* tartans, but when the clans were consolidated in hereditary definite territories, each district was only the boundary of a tribe, and its distinctions were the distinctions of the race by which it was inhabited. It must not, however, be supposed that *no* deviations were in use. There is abundant evidence that much variety was indulged. The nominal clan-colours were doubtless only a general distinction; and for the chase, when glaring colours were inconvenient, and by the poor, to whom costly dyes were incompatible, sombre and dusky habits were often used. By Buchanan these are noticed as having been introduced to avoid discovery from the more distinguished and vivid coloured tartans, which may be assumed to have been the clan colours.

But in opposition to the antiquity of such distinctions, the reviewer leans much weight upon the assumed notice of Lesly, that *variegated* mantles were worn only by the *noble* —“*Chlamydes enim gestabant unius formæ omnes et nobiles et plebei, nisi quod nobiles variegatis sibi magis placebant.*”‡ By “*variegatis*,” however, we consider that, on this occasion, the historian intended the *brilliant* or *conspicuously* varied plaids, such as the “*floridâ vestis*,” which, at nearly the same time, were distinguished by Buchanan from the “*sagis fuscas*,” used also apparently by those of the humble order, or for humble purposes. But both these classes of inferior garments—those noticed by Lesly as opposed to the brilliant habits of the

* Description, West Isles, 207.

† *Ibid.*, 208.

‡ De Origine Morib. et Reb. Gest. Scot., p. 55. 4to. Rom. 1685.

rich, and those particularised by Buchanan as adopted for their monotonous imperceptibility—were, as we conceive, *tartans* woven in distinct stripes and sets, but in dull and umbered hues, which, in general appearance, were harmonised into *one* tone : this is entirely conformable to the accompanying remark of the historian, that they were *especially* designed to blend, as near as possible in the colour of the heather, “*Ericæ frondes proximè imitantes*,” that the wearers might not be discovered when lying among its bushes—“*ne in ericetis cubantes luce floridâ vestis agnosci possint, ferunt.*”^{*} But the heath is never of a positive uniform colour, and the most undistinguishable imitation of its tints is a dull russet tartan of various umbered shades. Such we believe to have been these humble plaids of Lesly, contradistinguished from the “*chlamydes variegatis*,” as we think strongly illuminated mantles of the noble, and the “*sagis fuscas*,” opposed by Buchanan to the “*luce floridâ vestis*,” equally conspicuous in his time.

That such were the nature of those humble and monotonous habits, is supported by the decisive testimony of Buchanan concerning the reigning taste which characterised the general habits of the Highlanders, and which, he declares, was an especial passion for *striped* and *variegated* stuffs. “*Veste gaudent varia ac maximè virgatâ.*”[†] “They delight in *variegated*, above all, in *striped* vestments.” According, therefore, to this prevailing fashion, thus declared to have dominated as a characteristic in their habits, we are justified in believing that the umbered, or sombre tints, as well as the floridly versi-coloured, were governed by the same taste, and woven in sets and stripes, though of various dull shades, subdued into one dark monotonous tone.

That such umbrous, or brown-hued tartans, generally existed through a period of uncertain extent, is well known ; and

^{*} *Rer. Scot., Lib. I. p. 24. 8vo. Ultrajecti, 1669.*

[†] *Rer. Scot., Lib. I.*

examples have come down to our own time in various old family paintings, among which the most remarkable are the portrait of Kenneth, Lord Duffus, in the possession of the Countess-Dowager of Caithness, in Edinburgh; of John, third Lord Breadalbane, in the possession of Earl de Grey, in St. James' Square, London; of Andrew MacPherson, of Clunie, in the possession of Clunie MacPherson, at Clunie Castle; and three remarkable paintings of a distinguished, but unknown chieftain, of which the largest is at Taymouth Castle, the best at Dunibristle, and the third, in the possession of Glen-Garrie, at Inverrui.

In all these, the tartans are of a dull dusky appearance, but regularly and carefully composed in broad, distinct sets, and numerous small cords and stripes, but all in shadowy and monotonous tints, subduing the whole into one umbered tone, which, at a little distance, would scarcely be distinguished from an olive brown. Composed, however, in neutralised shades of various colours, this class of tartans was perfectly susceptible of clan sets, and though it is most probable that the majority were mere hunting tartans, there was no obstacle or evidence against their fabrication in prescribed patterns, and the bright chemical dyes being scarce, expensive, and available only to the rich; by the poor, who dyed all their clothes from the humble tints of lichens, barks, and other vegetable productions, whatever clan-tartans existed among them must, in a great degree, have partaken of the humble tone noticed by Lesly as distinguished from the brilliant, chemical, and mineral dyes afforded by the rich. But, independent of the presumption that the humble and dusky mantles mentioned by Lesly and Buchanan were themselves of tartan, and even of clan distinctions, *whatever they were* is of no evidence against the existence of clan-sets. The monotonous garments noticed by the two historians were indisputably the same, but the latter author, who wrote only four years after the former, describes their usage to have been only among an *inferior*

number of the clans, and in describing the universal and characterising passion of the Highlanders for parti-coloured and chequered vestments, and especially for blue and purple colours, he declares that, such was the prevailing and distinguishing taste of their habits, that it had been derived from their ancestors through an indefinite period, and that it still continued to be the *fashion of the greater number in his own time*—"Maiores sagis versicoloribus plurifarum distinctis utebantur, ut adhuc *plerique mos est*."* What follows concerning the dusky or russet mantles was of an inferior *deviation*, in which he expresses that, though the majority adhered to the usage of their ancestors in the more distinguished variations of blue, purple, and other colours, there were many who, for a *particular purpose*, rather preferred dusky or undistinguishable plaids, "*Verum plures nunc magis fuscas, et ericoe frondes proximè imitantes, ne in ericetis cubantes luce floridâ vestis agnosci possint, ferunt*." By which may be understood those whose especial habitude of hunting, or greater prudence in hostile expeditions, rendered them most solicitous to guard against discovery by their garments; and thus the russet tints were not universally worn by all, as neither all men lay in the heather, nor did any lay there at all times.

But in the assertions of Buchanan, that, from a period to which no limit was assigned, the taste of the Highlanders was in chequered stuffs, that, as still remarkable in the clan-sets, purple and blue were their most esteemed colours, but that, as also characteristic of the present scarlet and yellow patterns, some were so brilliant as to have been named "*floridâ vestis*," and that, in the time of the historian, these fashions were retained by the greater number, "*plerique mos est*," it is evident that the *general habits* of the majority of the *Highlanders* had all the elements and characteristics essential to hereditary

* Rer. Scot., Lib. I.

clan tartans, and that these testimonies cannot be negated by the vague expression of Lesly, who only wrote four years before the more definite testimony delivered by Buchanan, and equally within the unlimited period of those ancestors from whom the Highland costume was declared by that author to have been derived.*

In addition, however, to these general arguments, there is a farther and more definite indication in the notices of Buchanan, which offer a presumption of his own allusion to the discrimination of peculiar sets. In describing the prevailing use of parti-coloured or tartan habits, he notices that those handed down from the ancestors of his own generation had been diversified in stripes or colours *variously distinguished*, "*Maiores sagis versicoloribus plurifarum distinctis utebantur.*" † In this expression, an advocate for the antiquity of clan-sets is justified in assuming that the historian alluded to a tradition of peculiar and local patterns, an admission which indicates a usage very analogous to hereditary tribe tartans.

But beyond these internal evidences in the matter of the garbled authors, there are other presumptive testimonies to the existence of prevailing and particular regulations in tartans, so nearly after the period of Lesly and Buchanan, that it renders it almost impossible for such a usage to have been unknown, though it might have been unnoticed by those writers, to whom the *details* of the *hostile* and *despised* Highlanders were *then* not only subjects of no interest or curiosity, but objects of *contempt* and *neglect*.

In a charter to Hector MacLean, heir of Duart, in 1587, of the five mark land of Noraboll, in Isla, the annual feu-duty was specified to have been sixty ells of cloth in three prescribed colours.

"Necnon pro prenominate quinque mercatis terrarum de

* Rer. Scot., Lib. I.

† Ibid.

Norabolsadh cum pertinentis, sexaginta ulnas panni, albi, negri, et grisei, coloris respective." *

In this enumeration there appears a slight error, from a presumption that the third colour should have been *green*; for in the valuation of the church-lands taken at the suppression of the religious houses, the same feu-duty of Noraboll enumerates that colour as the last.

"The five merk land of Noraboll set to Hector Maclain of Dowart: extending yearlie of few-duetie to sixty elnes of cloath, of whyte, black, and *green* cullors." †

This disagreement, however, may be easily explained: the vernacular, and in 1587, the only language of the Island of Isla, where the feu-duty was paid, was Gaelic, and the information, upon which the charter was drawn, was doubtless derived from that tongue; but in Gaelic, "glass" signifies both *grey* and *green*, as "*ceo-glas*," "the *grey* mist;" "*cruaidh ghlas*," "the *grey* steel;" "*airidh-ghlas*," "the *green* shealing;" "*Cheain-ghlas*," "the *green* pasture." Thus in the Psalm—"Ann an cheainibh-*glas* bheir e oram luidhe sios." ‡ "He maketh me to lie down in *green* pastures." In the variation between the charter and the roll, the English version, being the most popular, may be received as the most faithful to the original, and hence that the cloth was a *tartan* of white, black, and green dyes.

It may, indeed, be objected that it might not have been *one* parti-coloured web, but three several pieces, each of an individual colour. Had this been the fact, however, a definition so particular as that which prescribed the dyes and the amount of the duty could not have failed to determine the

* Charter de Novodamus, Reg. Sec. Sig., Vol. lvii. fol. 59.

† MS. Bibl. Harl. 4613, sheet 60, p. 3. Erroneously described in the catalogue as "Bagimont's Roll," it is, however, an estimate of the Scottish Episcopal revenues at the "Reformation," and does not at all correspond with the existing fragment of the roll of the Legate Baymond de Vesci, taken in 1275.

‡ Psalm xxiii. 2.

number of yards for each piece and colour, while the general gross nomination indicates, if it does not *prove* that the estimate was for sixty yards of cloth, in which the three dyes were mingled throughout; that is, that it was tartan.

But unless some peculiar definition existed in the designs of tartans, it is difficult to understand why a regulation of the dyes should have been imposed: but since this regulation was for the use of a clan chief, the first presumption is, that it was for conformity with a prevailing uniform of costume established in his clan or family, and by a remarkable, and, as it appears, a demonstrative coincidence, the clan colours, attributed to the MacLeans by the oldest traditions of Mull, were the same as those named in the feu-duty to their chief. Thus the verse in the old Duart song:—

“Bu mhian leam am breacan tlàth
Breacan *uain*’ ’us *dubh* ’us *geal*
Datha sar Mhiel-Ghillian am flath—
Sud an laoch a fhuair mo ghaol.” *

“Dear to me the tartan plaid,
The plaid of *green*, and *black*, and *white*;
The colours of the noble MacLean,
The hero of my love.”

Now, assuming that the Noraboll cloth was tartan, and that clan-tartans were prevalent at the time of its estimate, there was a good reason why it should have been necessary to regulate the manufacture paid by the tenants. The lands on which they resided were situated in *Isla*, an island wholly without the territories of the MacLeans, and inhabited by the MacDonalds and their dependants, tribes of an entirely different blood, and, for a considerable period, mortally hostile race. Supposing, therefore, the existence of clan-tartans, those worn by the men of *Isla* must have been utterly different from, and even incompatible with, the usage of the MacLeans. Un-

* Moladh rann do Shir Eachainn MacGillian Trath Dhubhairt.

directed by any description, the tenants would generally weave that which they wore; and hence, when they came under the superiority of Duart, to render their cloth conformable to his use, it could have become necessary to ensure by a regulation the conformity of their webs to those in wear among the MacLeans.*

The indication that such a uniformity, or nominal distinction of tartans, existed generally among the great septs, is extended to the East Highlands by Taylor "the Water Poet," who, in 1618, witnessed the gathering of fifteen hundred men in Mar. In this assemblage his observation, new to the Highlands, was particularly struck with the universal and undeviating uniformity of costume among all present—"lords, knights, esquires, and their followers, all, and every man, in general, were in one habit, as if Lycurgus had been there." The principal distinguishing features of this costume he describes to have been "a jerkin, hose, and plaid, of a stuff of divers colours called *tartane*:" and from his emphatic declaration of their identical uniformity, it is a presumptive conclusion, that the *colours*, as well as the garments, were governed by a definite conformity of pattern, or, that each of the same race, or following, were attired in the same clan colours.

Although removed to a considerably later period, this conformity, so notable in the followers of the Brae-Mar chieftains, is corroborated by a document of service between Simon Lord Lovat and one of his clansmen named John Fraser, by which the latter was bound and obliged to keep always "a good suit of tartane clothes, and a tartan plaid conform."†

Considering the tenacious hereditary tradition of Highland customs, and connecting the obligation of the Lovat retainer,

* Pennylesse Pilgrimage, p. 135. Fol. Lond. 1630.

† Agreement of tack between Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat and John Fraser, Dec. 1st, 1739. Orig. Lovat Charter Chest.

the uniformity of the gathering of Mar, the prescription for the duty of Noraboll, and the notices delivered by Buchanan,—when we combine these links of illustration with the testimony of Martin, that the compositions of tartan were so definite in each district, that the residence of *every individual might be known by the colour of his plaid*,* it amounts to a demonstrative presumption, that, from the sixteenth century, notices have existed to show that the tartans of the clans were governed by peculiar patterns; that this usage had descended from an indefinite period; and that, combined with the ancient acknowledgment of such symbolic sumptuary colours among the Irish tribes,† it is carried back to a period which recedes into the twilight of history.

That such details should not have been noticed by Lesly, or other chroniclers of a much later period, is conformable to the character of learning, and the position of the Highlanders in their time. Neglected, despised, and scarcely known, except in hostile raids and sudden forays, the clans and all their attributes were then utterly disregarded and contemned. Those at a distance were entirely careless concerning their history or habits; and those who, not of their race, had—as they considered it—the *misfortune* to possess their familiarity, regarded them only as half-civilised savages, whose usages and peculiarities were objects of no importance, interest, or inquiry, far less for any place in the grave details of history. To have descended to such traits would have been considered degrading to the dignity and the subject of the historian. “The Right Reverend Father,” and chronicler of Ross, or even simple “Master George Buchanan,” should no more have humbled his pen to the sumptuary details of “*Redschankis*,” or “*Men behind the cars*,” than Humboldt or Thiers to describe the brass garnished belts, laced trews, buckler hats, and hanging

* Western Isles, 208.

† Annales IV., Magistrorum. O’Conor, Rer. Hibern., iii. 24, 25.

sleeves of the wandering Wallachian * tinkers; though these are among the most remarkable examples of obsolete costumes now extant in Europe; and, to the antiquary of another century, might be objects of as much curiosity as the Highlanders of the sixteenth to ours. Yet, though the Wallachian is the inhabitant of an interesting and peculiar district, and his antiquated and now *unique* costume is seen in almost every town of Bohemia and Austria, his name and his habits will probably perish without one line of a pencil or a pen to transmit his delineation to posterity. A similar comparison, to the neglect of the olden Highlanders, is also found in the East. Various authors have written of the Burmese, their history, their religion, and their country; but none, that we know, has noticed, far less detailed, the distinctions of their noble families by the colours of their dress, which, like those of the Highlanders, are defined by their stripes. Yet these distinctions are so true, that, from *English* officers who have served in Burma, we have received a particular description of the family colours appropriated to the most noble houses. Let it not, then, occasion surprise that the "wild Highlanders," and "hill-kernes" of the *sixteenth century* were equally disregarded by Lesly and his predecessors.

Such are the most evident replies to the first general objection of the reviewer. With regard to the second—that against *the usage of tartan in the Low-countries*—many evidences remain; and we think that the editor of the *Vestiarium*, in his preface to that tract, has given some decisive testimonies, which, as they have been *suppressed* by the reviewer, we shall here repeat.

In the sixteenth century a popular ballad mentions tartan as one of the most *common* garments in the lowlands—

* Not the inhabitants of *Wallachia*, but a wandering race improperly called by the same appellation, but who belong to a province of Hungary, and travel for employment over the neighbouring kingdoms.

“Syne schupe thame up to lowp on leis
Twa tabartis of the *tartane*.” *

This ballad is given in a collection written in 1568, but it belongs to a much earlier period, since it is contained in that part of the MS. which the transcriber attributes to authors *ancient even in his time*. † About the same date the figure of the Low-country “*Scotsmen*,” given in the “*Recueil de la deversité des habits qui sont de present en usaige*,” printed in 1562, is represented in *tartan* “*chausses*” or trousers. Tartan plaids were equally common among females; for in 1595 one Andrew Smith was indicted “for stealing some coloured worsteds, of which,” says the record, “he made ane *tartane* plaid to his wife.” ‡ In 1598 Moryson describes the *Scotswomen* of the middle and lower orders as generally dressed in tartan—they “did wear cloaks made of a coarse stuff of two or three colours in chequer work, vulgarly called plodan.” § In 1693 tartan is exhibited as very *generally worn in the Low-country*, not only by women, but by men, and even by the *better orders*; for in the collection of Scottish Views by Captain Slezer, a Dutch officer of artillery under William III., figures of gentlemen in *tartan plaids* are introduced in the views of *various towns*, and tartan in plaids and other garments are given as a *common feature of popular costume* in the views of *Falkland, Montrose, Dumblane, Dunotter, Elgin, Roslin, and St. Andrews*. || The habitual accuracy of an *engineer draughtsman* was not likely to have been tempted into an error of what he himself *saw and represented*. About the same period there occurs a remarkable instance of the popularity of tartan manufactures in the Low-country. Mont-

* Symie and his Bruder. Bannatyne MS. i., fol. 145 b., Bibl. Facul. Jurid.

† Symie and his Bruder, fol. 97.

‡ Records of the Regality of the Bishopric of Moray, fol. 38.

§ Itinerary, Part III., B. IV. c. 3.

|| Theatrum Scotiæ. Fol. Lond. 1693.

gomery of the Airds, a considerable Scots colony, which had been transplanted into Ulster. carried over weavers from *Ayrshire*, into Ireland, because he found that the *Scots* could manufacture “Breacans” * cheaper than was commonly done in O’Neil’s country.† For those unacquainted with the ancient costume of Ireland, it is necessary to add that, until extirpated by acts of sumptuary proscription, the old Irish habits and arms in all their parts and names were exactly similar to those of the Highlanders of the same period, and, consequently, tartans were continued in Ireland till the seventeenth century. In the time of Allan Ramsay, tartan plaids were so popular in the Low-country, that in his celebrated pastoral drama he introduces one of his shepherds making a present to his friend of a *tartan plaid*, which he describes with an interest and particularity which the reviewer would have ridiculed had it been found in the *Vestiarium Scoticum*. “A *tartan plaid*, spun o’ gude hawsloch woo, *Scarlet and green* the sets, *the borders blue*, *wi’ spraings like gowd and siller crossed wi’ black*.” ‡ If the definitions and patterns of tartan had not still been of very considerable popular importance and interest to the Low-country people in the time of Allan Ramsay, he would never have put this particular description of his plaid into the mouth of a character in one of his most popular works. This inference is confirmed by the recollection of many who saw the dress of the lower orders in the close of the last century ; and the Editor of the *Vestiarium Scoticum* quotes the recollection of Mrs. Wilson of Garvally, § a native of Berwickshire, who remembered that in her childhood *tartan plaids*, “*tonags*,” and even *hose*, were then worn by most of the farmers and women upon the east border, and that all the boys under fourteen or fifteen were dressed, not

* *Tartans*, Irish and Gaelic.

† Montgomery of the Aird’s Papers.

‡ Gentle Shepherd, Act I. Scene I.

§ Near Forres, in Morayshire.

only in tartan, but *kilts*, as many still are in great part of Morayshire and other Low-country districts. Regardless of these remarkable evidences, which cannot be denied nor evaded, the reviewer passes them *unnoticed*, or rather *conceals them from the reader of his critique*, while he *assumes* an *imaginary* scorn in Sir Walter Scott against the assertion that the Low-country people ever wore tartans. "We can picture the contempt which clouded the brow of the Editor of the Sadler papers on opening the *transcript* of the Donaif MS. when his eye lit on the tartans of Douglas, Scott," &c. If the reviewer "*pictured*" the contempt as arising from the nature of the "*transcript*," the views perhaps of the "Dun"-d-"Ass," "Mont-go-merry," "Broad-Eye," &c., &c., which were then presented to the criticism of Sir Walter—we truly coincide with him in this vision of contempt. But had Sir Walter seen the *original* MS., and considered the foregoing notices of the use of tartan among the Low-country people, there could have been nothing to awaken his prejudice, or justify the reviewer in *daring* to "*picture*" to himself any *imaginary* expression of the sentiments of the great individual whose name he has so presumptuously taken in vain. That tartan was not the *universal* wear of the Low-country after a *very* early period, and that it became *generally disused* among the higher orders long before it declined among the lower is indisputable; but the habits of the people are in all ages only the imitations of those fashionable among their superiors, and often retained by them centuries after they have been lost among their magnates; and thus the tartans preserved among the commons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been derived from the usage of the noble at an earlier period. When usages are once generally popular, they partake the names and designations of those among whom they are in use, and whose accidental example, popularity, or influence, incites denomination, either by their own participation, or regard to their persons. The designation once given would be retained

with increased identity the longer it became habitual, and would descend with as local an association, as in England a woman's scarlet cloak is still called a *Cardinal* from the red mantle of Cardinal Pole—and in France the ordinary head-dress of the sixteenth century a "*coiffure à la Marie Stuart*," &c.

The objection of the reviewer to the general idea of family tartans arises from the erroneous and exaggerated absurdity entertained by himself and some others concerning the nature of the *Vestiarium Scoticum*, as if it inculcated a belief that at any period *every* person of a Scottish surname wore *only* a certain habit appropriated to that name—such a conclusion could only be entertained by the most grossly absurd and ignorant. The reviewer has attached to the little tract before him an *historical* and critical importance to which it has no pretensions; and although it gives the definitions of tartans designed after the most distinguished names, it makes no assertion of their *invariable* wear. The tract is evidently a collection of *nominal* distinctions, similar to an ordinary herald painter's book of armories, named after the greatest names within whose districts they were commonly used, or by whose participation they had been distinguished; but no rational person could suppose that it was intended to convey the idea that all individuals of those names wore nothing else. The patterns thus designated in the *Vestiarium* were a collection of popular sets so distinguished at a time when tartans were *generally prevalent*, and their designs a *popular passion*. The collector was evidently a zealot in his taste, probably an *heraldic* enthusiast, who considered the tartans and their family nomenclature as a branch of those insignia of distinction and personification with which the middle ages were so much infatuated, and thus it is probable that he collected the sumptuary symbolism of tartans in the same spirit of elaborate amplification which incited the laborious and multifarious conceits of those heralds and pursuivants, who not only found arms for *all existing* names, but for the realms of the

Saxon heptarchy and the heroes of the *Trojan war*, states, and individuals, which existed from three centuries to three millenniums before the use of blazonry was invented—in short, that Sir Richard Urquhart, whoever he was, had the same kind of passion as that which animated *Gwillim*, *Randall Holmes*, *Sir David Lindsay*, *Hopingius*, and almost every old herald in England, France, Spain, and Germany, when they found armories for their lords and worthies up to the Knights of the *Table-ronde*, the *twelve Peers of France*, and the contemporaries of *Achilles* and *Bacchus*.

Such are the unfounded and dishonest presumptions presented against the *Vestiarium Scoticum*. In the same review there is combined a personal attack against the editor and his family in the form of another criticism upon the “*Tales of the Century*,” a small “*Romaunt d’Histoire*,” accompanied by critical and historical notes; but this is of a nature, the malignity of which defeats itself, and by those against whom it is directed, is consigned to silent contempt.

For those, however, unacquainted with its spirit and its motives, we will discover the cause of that hostility which has degraded the privilege of criticism into an artifice of revenge.

The *Vestiarium* had reposed in peace for *five years*—and *fourteen months* before the publication of the attack upon the Stuarts, there had appeared their large and principal work, “*The Costume of the Clans*.” During these periods of years and months, the *Vestiarium* had remained unassailed, and the more important volume was left unnoticed. It was not that they were unknown, for a copy of the first had been *presented to the reviewer upon its publication*; and the second had attracted an attention which obtained for it a place in the Imperial Library of Austria, the Royal Libraries of England and Bavaria, those of the most noble houses in Great Britain, and several of the illustrious upon the Continent, with an estimation which had excited from the greatest antiquaries of

Europe the appellation of “a magnificent *and national work*.” Yet by the *Quarterly Review* it was past in silence, and the alleged provocations of the Vestiarium were left unobserved, until a little volume of tales and fugitive notes appeared from the press, and suddenly called down the thunder of Olympus upon the midge which crossed its cloud.

In the *Review* thus awakened, the Vestiarium was remembered, and brought to the bar beside “The Tales of the Century ;” but by an extraordinary elision—the only important work of the author’s—one which by its magnitude could not have been forgotten, by its distinction could not have been unknown, and, by its period, had been *eight months* earlier before the reviewer than the “fly” which he arose to “break upon the wheel”—was left unnamed and unnoticed, and the *first* and the *last* works only of the authors were arrayed for trial; because that which was passed over was untangible to *hostility*, and those which were assailed were *believed* to be vulnerable to attack.

The cause of this dishonest abuse of the literary tribunal lay in the notes to the little volume, the last in the objects of assault. For several years past there has been diligently, but *privately*, circulated in Scotland, certain family MSS. drawn up by the members of a house connected in descent with Miss Clementina Walkinshaw, the celebrated mistress of the Prince Charles Edward. The objects of these compositions were to prove against the latter a charge of *bigamy*, and against his brother, the Cardinal of York, the double crime of *two unnatural assassinations*. The end of these dark accusations was to show that the lady was legitimately married to the Prince, and that the Duchess of Albanie, who derived birth under this union, and subsequently, her *asserted* son—a certain Swedish Baron Rohenstart,—was the “*legitimate heir to the British throne*.” To support these pretensions, and dissolve the conflicting evidence of the Prince’s subsequent separation from Miss Walkinshaw, the disacknowledgment of

her daughter, and the marriage of Charles Edward with the Princess Louisa of Stolberg,—it was revealed by the Walkinshaw Papers, that, mortified in the disappointment of a *male* heir, and actuated by a base infidelity and mercenary interest, after years of inhumanity and the disappearance of the witnesses in death, the Prince denied the validity of his union, and, repudiating his *wife* under the pretext that she had been his *mistress*, committed a treacherous bigamy by contracting another marriage with the Princess of Stolberg. That, when afterwards repenting of his injustice to his offspring, he recalled his daughter, and made her the heiress of considerable wealth, the envy of this inheritance induced the Cardinal of York to remove his niece by “*a lingering poison*,” and attempt the life of her son, whose existence was only preserved by a sudden removal from the Frascati Palace, where the mother and her child had been invited under his protection, for the purpose of affording an opportunity to practise against their lives.

In the notes to the “*Tales of the Century*,”* this monstrous fabrication was confuted and exposed to the reprobation which it deserved, and in this consisted the offence which called up the hostility of the *Quarterly Review*. It was not the inculpation of literary amenability which awakened the cognisance of the Biblical Rhadamanthus. The Vestiarium had reposed for twenty times the *five years* in which it had slept upon his shelf. The costume of the clans had “died and worms had eaten” it, and the “*Tales of the Century*” had passed and melted into the air, like the smoke of those hearths around which the tradition of that hundred years had been told, unknown and unnoticed, in the solitude of the Highland glens. But the authors of “*The Walkinshaw Fable*” were parties and partisans in “*The Holy Vehm*” of the *Quarterly Illuminati*, and the “dagger” and the “cord” was given to the reviewer, and like the assassin of the Westphalian

* Walkinshaw Fable, p. 105.

Tribunal, he stole abroad under the black cloud of his literary "nebelkappe" to execute the revenge committed to his hand.

The country which still retains a warm sensibility for that gallant Prince, the last in the chivalry of Scottish history, and which has extended a generous sympathy to the virtues and the misfortunes of his mild and irreproachable brother, will judge the dark and malignant motives which, to gloss the character of a frail woman removed to the third and fourth generation from the interests of the present, have sought to blacken the memory of two illustrious and unfortunate princes; and they who have read those bold and baseless calumnies against names long at rest in the grave, will discover and appreciate in their spirit the principles of that attack, which, to revenge the refutation of the foul fable, directed against those by whom it had been overthrown, the malignity which had assailed the dead, and the falsehood which had stained the veracity of history.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Cromarty MS. of the *Vestiarium Scoticum*, date 1721, the only copy in Great Britain, is deposited at 25 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, where it will be exhibited to all who may desire its inspection.

This copy was obtained by the editor in the year 1819 from John Ross, a native of Cromarty, then above sixty years of age. The MS. descended to him from his father and grandfather, also natives of Cromarty, by the former of whom it was received from a tutor in the family of Cromarty. It has been circulated by the "Walkinshaw" confederacy, that the *late* Sir John Macpherson Brackenbury had caused search to be made in Cadiz for the MS. of the *Vestiarium*, formerly existing in the library of the Convent St. Augustine in that city, and that its title was not found in the catalogue of the monastery.

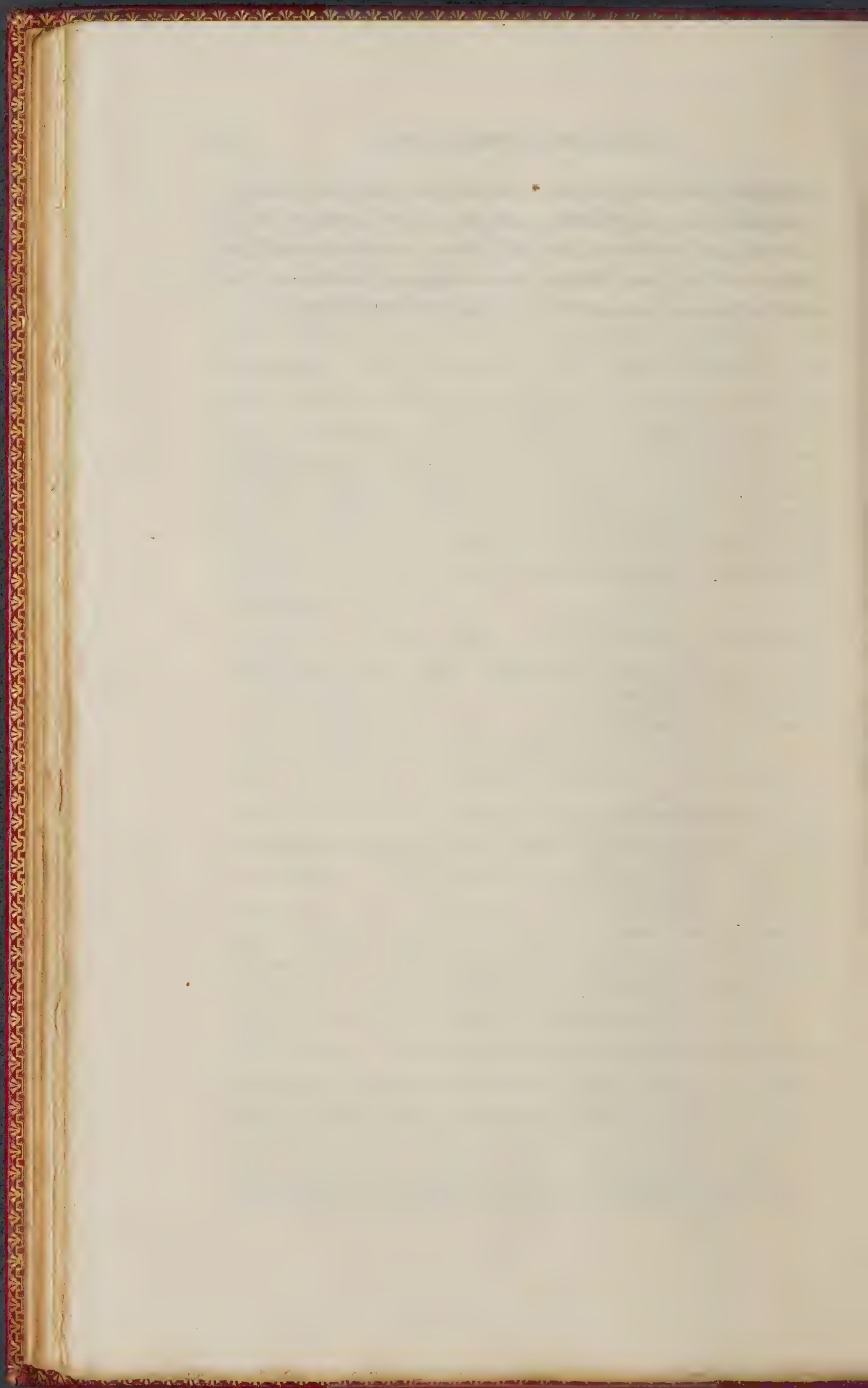
Like the allegations of the *Quarterly* in its criticism, the inference propagated from this assertion is a *deliberate* and *malignant falsehood*. To all who have visited the library of the Convent of St. Augustine it is well known, that there *never existed* a complete catalogue of its contents, that a great part of its vast collection was not only unclassed, undigested, and unregistered, but unexamined and unknown even by the monks, and that those few who had ever made any researches into its voluminous repositories had never explored one-half of their contents. The observation of the MS. of the Vestiarium Scoticum was the accidental discovery of an *Irish* priest, by whom, in 1823, it was noticed among a number of Irish and Scotch papers, which had attracted his curiosity, but which, in all probability, would never have drawn the attention of a *Spanish* investigator.

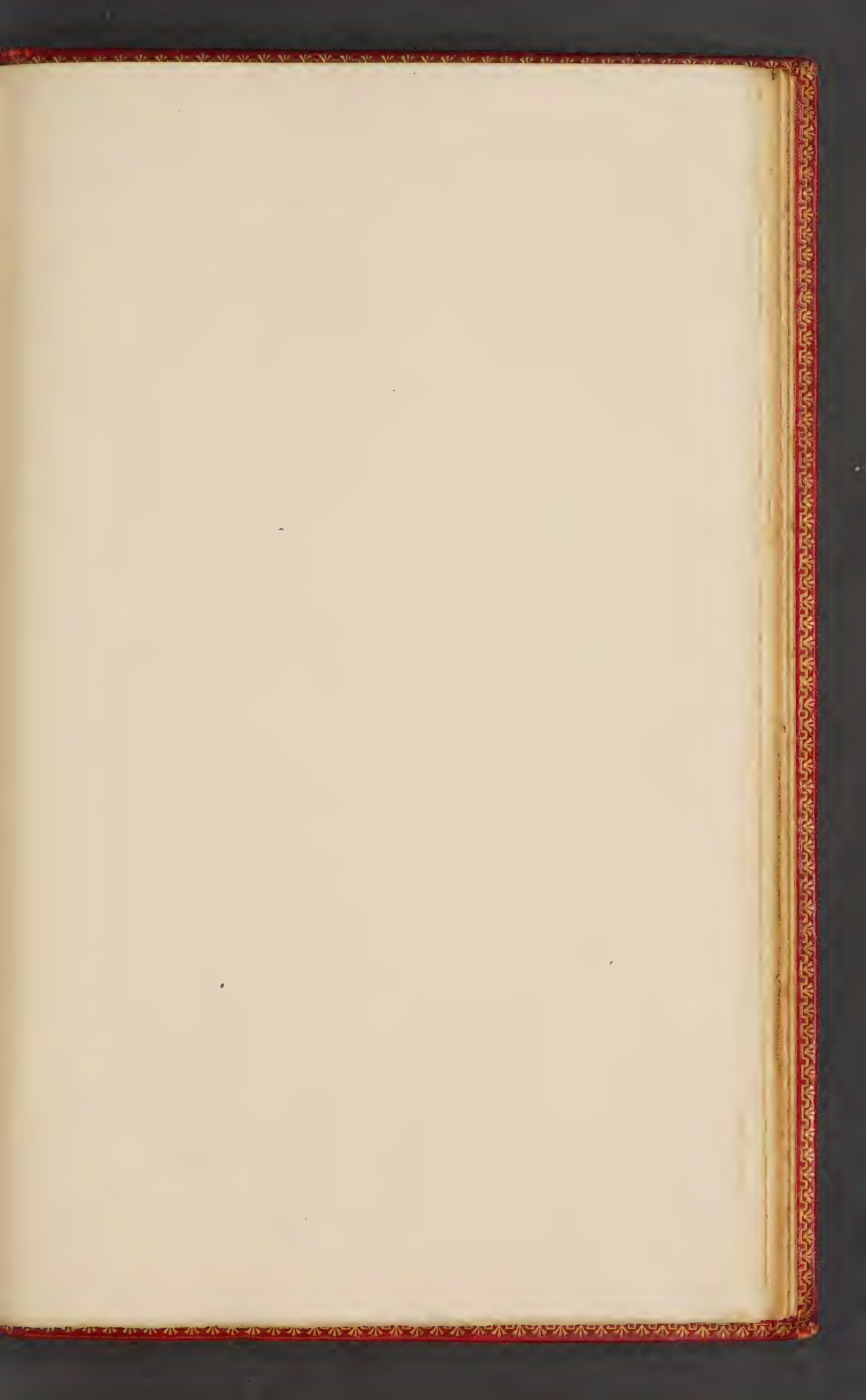
Down to the suppression of the Convent, any catalogue which existed was merely a synopsis of the most popular and most important works in divinity, history, the sciences, and the classics, but there was *never* any compendium which enumerated the great mass of *miscellaneous* materials.

The application of Sir John Macpherson Brackenbury to make search for the St. Augustine copy of the Vestiarium, and the inference derived from his *asserted* reply—for being dead, the veracity of this quotation cannot be verified—like the malignities of the confederates in the *Quarterly* criticism, emanated from the *Walkinshaw* clique, and was inspired by the same spirit of animosity and falsehood which, to re-establish the virtue of a frail relation, charged Charles Edward with infamy and Henry of York with assassination.

The Convent of St. Augustine was suppressed along with all the monastic institutions of the Peninsula, and its vast contents have been dissipated in the general dispersion of their libraries, and if the copy of the Vestiarium has not been immediately discovered by an imperfect and cursory inquiry, let not the descendants of those who burned and devastated the treasures

of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, *Dunfermline, and the hundred royal and sacred depositories, not only of the literature, but of the arts and records of *Scotland*, dare to question what has become of *one* poor solitary tract displaced amidst the vast wreck of volumes scattered by the desecrations of Spain.





LA
380
H76
14
819
C.1

1814733

12399

71

